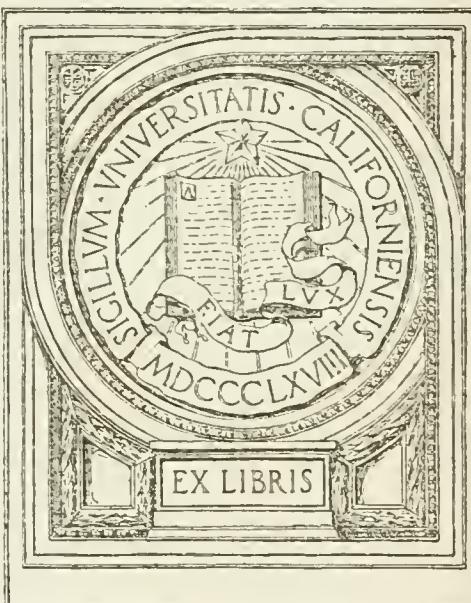




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# THE AGE OF THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER

BY

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## BOOK I.

### THE AGE OF THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER.



# THE AGE OF THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE REGENCY IN FRANCE.

DURING the course of the history of the Western peoples certain periods are especially noticeable on account of the peculiarly deep and lasting influence which they have exerted on the historical evolution of the world. They bear an eminently characteristic impress. The mere mention of them suffices to call up a series of sharply defined conceptions. Such, among others, are the century of the Great Migrations, the age of Charlemagne, and the sixteenth century as the era of ecclesiastical transformation. To these peculiarly noteworthy and conspicuous epochs we may add the eighteenth century as the period of religious enlightenment, and of the supremacy of reason over tradition and conventional thought and feeling.

Ultimately the intellectual movement of the eighteenth century must be considered as a result of the Peace of Westphalia and of the events that followed it, which in the end destroyed the church-unity of the West, which had survived for a thousand years, and brought to pass the international acknowledgment and mutual recognition of the different Christian confessions. Up to this time the critical spirit recently revived in the West by the Renaissance had been suppressed through the ascendancy acquired by the religious element, and was also kept down by force. Now the governments withdrew the temporal arm from the church, and that spirit awoke in conscious opposition to the religious forms that had hitherto prevailed. Since these in general had lost much in popularity, and many men had been rendered distrustful by reason of the horrors of the civil and international wars, critical, and even sceptical opinions spread over the entire continent with great rapidity and with irresistible power. Many began to regard the particular confes-

sion as a purely fortuitous garment, that clings to us only externally, and which one might exchange on any occasion whatever. Even ecclesiastics, especially the higher and more educated among them, became more pacific in their feeling and hostile to all fanaticism. Religion must no longer hinder free investigation. Everywhere the old barriers were burst asunder, authority rejected, reason and practical experience set up and acknowledged as sole judges concerning truth and error, right and wrong, honor and dishonor. The intellectual life was unfolded with a power such as hitherto had been unknown. Philosophy in a number of lofty minds rose to a height which has not been since attained. History, especially in England and France, forsook the superficial and barren treatment that had prevailed, to create profoundly meditated and artistically constructed works of imperishable and typical worth. The natural sciences were wholly transformed, and were everywhere prosecuted in the methods still pursued in our day. New branches of knowledge arose, such as political economy, the science of polities, the history of art, and chemistry. No former century was able to point to such important achievements in the domain of science as the eighteenth, and never had advances been so great in the different departments of human knowledge. What this epoch produced in literature it is hardly necessary to indicate. All these grand and memorable events were the results of the free intellect which had been released from the fetters of ecclesiasticism.

Industry also felt its furthering influence. Everywhere was manifested a fresh and energetic life, favored by the first inventions destined to substitute mechanical contrivances for manual labor, and favored furthermore by the unexpected expansion and enlarged dimensions of commerce. This last development was intimately connected with the new forms assumed by colonization.

The colonial system of recent times is essentially different from that of the ancients and of the Middle Ages. In the early ages colonies were for the most part private enterprises, in which the state did not participate; and they stood consequently only in a loose relation—chiefly religious—to the mother country. It was different with the colonies that were planted by Europe in foreign parts after the close of the fifteenth century; they were sooner or later directed by the government. Discoveries and settlements followed in the name of the king. At first there was much piracy and lawlessness, and honest commerce was of necessity limited mostly to

contiguous points of colonization. But this was gradually changed. The rapidly increasing population of the colonies beyond the seas by immigration from Europe, as also the final division of these among the several European maritime states, put an end to these wild and lawless doings. The state exerted a decided influence upon the colonial life, and particularly made commerce and industry dependent upon the mother-country. Almost every government claimed for its own subjects the monopoly of trade with its colonial possessions: the colonies, indeed, were subjected to great restrictions, and the most was recklessly made of them to the advantage of the mother-country. Traffic with the colonies was granted to one or more privileged companies, which then became eagerly intent on pressing down to the lowest point the prices of products in the countries where they originated, while they artificially enhanced them in Europe. Some states confined intercourse with their colonies to specified towns, from which ships combined in fleets could make purchases only at certain times. The commercial relations with these remote regions were so established that every one of the maritime countries of Europe was the market for the productions of its own colonies. Products previously unknown were introduced. In Southern Europe the American maize found entrance: in Portugal and then in Italy the orange-tree: in Holland, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the cultivation of tobacco was attempted. The potato was diffused first in Great Britain and Ireland, then in France, Bohemia, and Germany.

In Germany and France coffee came into use as a beverage, tea among the English, and chocolate among the nations of Southern Europe. Wants became more diversified, manners more refined. The lives of the poor were rendered easier, notwithstanding the rapid increase of population; existence was made more agreeable by the new sources of enjoyment, and the higher classes were placed in a position to satisfy the increased demands for intellectual activity. The narrow horizon of the Middle Ages was forever set aside through the exact knowledge acquired of the most distant countries, and of the entire extent of the globe. Besides, in the eighteenth century the last of the great continents, Australia, was discovered. The fulness of the new life and experience put an end to that stupid conservatism, which, inaccessible to all instruction and enlightenment, ever clung only to established tradition.

By the rapid increase of movable capital, tradespeople and

manufacturers gained in wealth, influence, and power in the community. With the greater impatience, therefore, did this higher class of citizens brook the predominance of the landed proprietors and of the hereditary nobility in the state, since this order no longer held precedence in ability and political training. In a discontented spirit they assailed the privileges, which seemed to them to have lost all reason for their existence; and while the privileged classes in theory certainly recognized such claims of equality, in fact they practised exclusion with only the more arrogant pride against these financial intruders. As is well known, the rich burgher class, who at first were leaders and directors, were soon borne down, and became a discarded factor in the French Revolution.

The seventeenth century is marked by a general lowering and enfeebling of character, by the need felt on all sides of peace, and by submission to undisguised despotism. In the eighteenth begins the elevation of the intellect. Aversion was felt to the slavery to which men had been subjected, and now the struggle was for freedom of thought and for political liberty. At first this struggle was carried on only by a minority of high intelligence; but subsequently it was taken up in continental Europe by classes of the population constantly increasing in breadth and in depth. It is indeed easy, from the vantage-ground of the present time, to discover and to emphasize many weaknesses in the eighteenth century. Many circles of the people — and not alone the lower orders — desired to have no part in this fresh, active life, and clung only the more anxiously and pedantically to the old order of affairs. This was especially true in Germany, where the awakening to freer views and endeavors was a slow and protracted process. Hence the taste for the absurd which in that country attached to the 'era of cues.' Far more commonly and justly the eighteenth century is wont to be assailed from the opposite direction. It is blamed as a period of destruction, a time of godlessness, full of revolutionary fermentation, of materialism, and of enmity to religion. But the same drawback is connected at first with every great movement, in that it rushes over the just bounds, and will only by degrees be confined within proper limits; that it carries with it much that is turbid, which, however, in the course of time it lets fall to the earth, after which the current runs clear. Assuredly we now recognize as extravagant, grotesque, impossible, much which the most pre-eminent intellects of the eighteenth century thought and demanded; but as little dare we deny

that we are, generally speaking, following in the paths which the eighteenth century marked out for us. Then the objects were set up, the missions devised; now we are laboring with painful and strenuous diligence, in difficult and often unrequited endeavor, for their accomplishment. All our political and social ideals had been already erected by the preceding century. Before this period there had existed liberty for the different estates; but liberty for every one is an innovation of the eighteenth century. No less earnestly asserted was the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil domain, the liberation of industry and commerce from the old oppressive shackles, the just rights of the masses over against a privileged minority. Like results are seen in the scientific field. Here also the preceding century indicated in general outlines the sketches which we now, while carefully executing in detail, confidently condemn as superficial and inaccurate, but which nevertheless serve us everywhere as models. Unthankful as are men, for the most part, to those on whose shoulders they are standing, many disregard the boundless obligations which the eighteenth century has imposed upon them. To make these obligations clear will be in part the mission of our work. We shall see that perhaps at no time has such a number of eminent and powerful intellects been actively employed at one and the same time as during the second half of that period. But at first the intellectual movement came from two countries,—from France and England.

The unprecedentedly long reign of Louis XIV. left behind it in the population of France a deep-seated discontent, which was a decided menace for the future of the country and its institutions. Nothing is more significant than the verses circulated at that time and read universally with eagerness: they have been attributed to Voltaire, but in truth were the productions of a certain Antoine Louis Lebrun. “I saw a thousand prisons crowded with brave citizens and faithful subjects. I saw the people sighing under grievous bondage. I saw the soldiers full of wrath, languishing from hunger, thirst, grief, and rage. I saw the officials harassing all the towns with excessive imposts and unrighteous laws. I saw a demon in woman’s apparel [Maintenon] ruling over us; she sacrificed her God, her faith, her soul, to corrupt the spirit of a credulous king. I saw that infamous man [the minister of police, d’Argenson] with arms in his hand, carrying into effect an abominable system of police.

I saw the episcopal dignity an article of traffic and the price of intrigue. I saw the offices delivered over to the ignorant and unworthy. I saw holy prelates become victims of the divine fire which animated them. I saw in this accursed century the Cardinal [de Noailles], the ornament of France, great and holy as he may be styled, undergo the effects of a detestable vengeance [of the Jesuits]. I saw hypocrites honored, the Jesuits adored ; and that says enough. I saw these evils under the pernicious reign of a prince whom the anger of heaven granted to us as a punishment. All these evils have I seen, and I am not yet twenty years old." It is to be observed that these epigrams were now directed immediately and most severely against the king himself.

It is evident that such a feeling on the part of the people promised no long duration to the arbitrary dispositions of the testament of Louis XIV., if any one should be found who would undertake to set them aside. And such was in fact the purpose of the new regent, Philip of Orleans.

Philip was at this time forty-one years of age, of medium height and very corpulent ; he was short-sighted, and his face was reddened by excess in drink. But these physical disadvantages were entirely put in the shade by the gentle and noble expression of his features and by the captivating yet elevated amiability which enchanted every one who came near him. His cultivation far exceeded the common standard, and he applied himself zealously to the natural sciences. He had aptness for everything, but perseverance in nothing. As a soldier he not only had a daring spirit adapted to the profession, but he showed also a just and keen judgment, which always stood at his command, if only he would give himself the pains to consider the subject, and in case of conflicting views bring his opinion to bear. But more and more he shunned the effort of reflection and of firm decision ; a result of the boundless and incessant debauchery which finally overgrew and stifled every better germ in him. This was indeed largely cultivated by the sad experiences of his youth. His father, a morose and inferior mind, who passed his days in the midst of servants, had kept him estranged from the family life ; and his uncle, Louis XIV., who was ill disposed towards him, kept him away from court. The hypocrisy which in the official France then covered the basest vice with the cloak of Christian piety and zealous churchmanship, was extremely distasteful to him. Thus he had given himself up, following the opinions and example of shameless



PLATE I.



Duke Philip II. of Orleans.

From a copper-plate engraving by Nicolas Edelinck (1680-1768).

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV., page 25.

teachers, and especially of the Abbé Dubois, to dangerous society and every kind of sensual pleasure. He cherished a profound contempt for men. He held all indiscriminately to be rascals, only that some possessed spirit, gayety, and wit, and others did not. The former he desired to have about him, however worthless they might choose to be.

Perhaps after the death of Louis XIV. he might have submitted from indolence and indecision to the restrictive clauses contained in the royal will. But it was represented to him that such a course would be considered as cowardice, and that reproach was the only one he feared. Moreover, he hated the bastards, who sought to thrust themselves into the ranks of the royal princes, and particularly the hypocritical and malignant Duke of Maine, to whom Louis, at the expense of the nominal regent, had assigned the substance of power. Finally, the child Louis XV. was weak and sickly, and it was believed that he was destined to an early death. Then there would stand between the crown and Philip of Orleans (PLATE I.) only Philip V. of Spain. It was evident that the latter in such an event would not regard the stipulation in the Peace of Utrecht excluding him from the throne of France, and would use every effort to secure his hereditary rights in that kingdom. Should Orleans yield to this old rival with whom he had been bitterly at variance as far back as his Spanish campaigns? The splendid prize of the crown he could, however, hope to obtain only if, as virtual ruler of France, he held her power actually in his hands. He decided, therefore, to overthrow the will of the deceased king. The Parlement, which had been purposely degraded by Louis XIV., burned with the desire, by setting aside the will, and introducing a regency of another kind, to regain at one stroke its former political consequence.

With this view matters were made ready in the speediest manner for the day after the death of Louis, September 2, 1715. The regent, the Duke of Maine, all the royal princes, the peers of the realm, all the councillors of Parlement, were members of the assembly which was to decide upon the fate of France for the immediate future, and perhaps forever. Orleans declared that the provisions of the will with respect to the regency were impossible of fulfilment, and were wrested from the deceased, when half unconscious, by an interested party: he himself must possess full powers as ruler, if he were to execute for the best good of the king and the state the reforms imperatively required. This promise decided all present to

adopt his declaration with loud approval. Without giving Maine much consideration, they voted against him. The will of Louis XIV. was in all essential points suppressed, and the entire royal power committed to Orleans. Maine retained only the obligation to watch over the personal safety of the young king. The regent furthermore ordered that the king should take up his residence not at Vincennes, but in the Tuilleries, at Paris. The capital, which had scarcely seen its king for a hundred years, hailed this decision with rejoicing. The regency was at first universally popular. Great things were expected from the duke.

Orleans now appeared full of zeal for the business to which he had devoted himself on that memorable second of September. The direction pursued by this activity must of necessity be one contrary to the ideas of his predecessor. To this new direction the lamentable condition of the state, which urgently demanded reforms, and the sentiment of the entire nation, impelled him: and to this his own inclination led him, because he did not love compulsion and arbitrary action in general, and was more inclined to greater liberty of thought and conscience. He always desired to put an end to the political and religious despotism which, as exercised by his predecessor, had become intolerable.

The Jansenists stood no more in accord with this utter sceptic in matters of faith than the Jesuits; but they were favored by public opinion, and had been persecuted by Louis XIV., while the Jesuits had urged him on to all violent measures. Therefore Philip zealously espoused the cause of the Jansenists and Gallicans. The gates of the Bastille and of other prisons were thrown open for the ecclesiastics, some of whom had languished there for long years, because they had written in favor of Port-Royal or of Quesnel, or had even attacked the bull *Unigenitus*. They were received by the population in triumph. For the first time there was seen in France, with its absolute government, a complete and decided triumph of an opposition to the royal will. The prominent opposer of the bull *Unigenitus*, Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was appointed president of the council of conscience, which possessed full powers to decide freely on the nomination of French prelates. This measure was the sign for general resistance to the papal claims. The Sorbonne declared that it had never recognized the bull *Unigenitus*. Numerous chapters rose against their own bishops because the latter had submitted to that law of the church. The Sorbonne, as also

the three hundred curates and a great number of religious orders in the diocese of Paris, promised publicly its adherence and support to the Cardinal de Noailles. A delegate was sent to the pope in order to induce him to modify his decrees. When Clement XI., enraged, rejected this, and threatened church penalties in case of further resistance, four French bishops appealed from the pope to a future general council; and many chapters as well as religious houses followed their example, encouraged by the Parlement, which threatened with temporal penalties the prelates who ventured to excommunicate their refractory subordinates. Five bishops who previously had accepted the bull now suspended its execution; and finally Noailles, together with many other bishops, concluded also to be appellants to the future council. The regent, on his part, forbade the prelates ever to accept a papal ordinance without having previously obtained his consent. Jansenism appeared to have secured a final triumph. Public opinion, especially in Paris, hailed with joy the triumph of a liberal tendency in the life of the state.

The Jesuits did not accept peaceably the downfall of their power. Some of them endeavored to arouse the population to fanatical zeal against the new tendency of affairs, and against the regent himself; but they only drew upon themselves severe punishment from the courts of justice. Among the cultivated classes, and especially in the parlements, which always had been hostile to the defenders of the omnipotence of the Curia, a more lively opposition to the followers of Loyola manifested itself, which was already expressed in certain official measures for the prosecution and exclusion of this order. The Jesuit Le Tellier, the last confessor of Louis XIV., was obliged, at the command of the Regent, to withdraw into the monastery of Amiens. The University of Paris decided no longer to confer academic degrees upon any student taught by the Jesuits.

But if the Jesuits succumbed for the moment, yet they secured their object in the long run. When they broke in upon the loud and unanimous concert of praise which sounded about Orleans, with their opposing cries, they startled him. When they renewed the contentions, which he believed were settled, they rendered his *blase* disposition inclined to peace at any sacrifice. Soon the uproar which arose concerning the bull *Unigenitus* became too loud and annoying for the regent. His zeal in public affairs had already abated; and he therefore ordered (October, 1717) that, concerning

this question, a complete silence should be observed on all sides. But he could no longer bring quiet. Noailles preferred to give in his resignation as president of the 'council of conscience,' in order to be able to maintain publicly his appeal against the bull. Irritated by this, the pope (March, 1718) caused a decree to be issued by the Roman Inquisition, which accused the archbishop of heresy, and stigmatized the appeals of the other French bishops, as well as the decisions of the theological faculties of Paris, Rheims, and Nantes, as slanderous writings. The Parlement again did not hesitate to declare this decree invalid. Hereupon the Curia took still more decided steps, and excommunicated all those who did not submit to the bull unconditionally.

Indisputably this disastrous confusion in the affairs of the church was mainly a result of the undecided and wavering conduct of the regent on this question. Had he followed in the path of Louis XIV., the opposers of the bull would have been quickly subdued; or had he with decision entered upon the opposite course the weak Clement XI. would have yielded. But the government acted in a manner to please no one, and consequently forfeited the popularity which its first measures against ultramontanism and Jesuitism had acquired; for these once more gained in influence. The leader of the 'appellants,' Cardinal de Noailles, was an honorable man, but in character weak and narrow, without fixed principles, and at bottom desirous of peace with the Curia. On the other hand, it is evident how these ecclesiastical contentions and recriminations must have rendered the whole church contemptible, and strengthened the already existing inclination to unbelief.

A similar vacillation was shown by the regent with reference to the unfortunate remnants of Protestantism in France. At first he had accorded them complete liberty, so that a number of the recent converts had even returned to their earlier faith, and had renounced the public religious assemblies. Then the government suddenly changed its course. In March, 1719, seventy persons were imprisoned, mostly belonging to the higher classes. In the provinces there began a regular chase after the assemblies of Protestants. The men were sent to the galleys, the women to perpetual imprisonment. Here and there the regent pardoned some of these unfortunate people; on the whole, he was much too indifferent and indolent to concern himself about a class of persecuted men whose innocence he nevertheless fully recognized.

But in no transaction whatever did the incompetence and frivolity of this government appear more clearly, and in none was it followed by more disastrous consequences than in financial affairs.

We know in what utter confusion the finances of the state were at the death of Louis XIV., and that they were absolutely no longer in a condition to fulfil the obligations of the public treasury. Above all a change was imperative here. This was the most difficult and pressing question of the new régime. Orleans had immediately constituted a financial council, at the head of which he placed his favorite, the Duke of Noailles. This duke resembled the regent much too closely not to please him. Unfortunately, there was lacking in him, as in his master, firmness and solidity; he understood everything and nothing, and sprang with the greatest ease from one conviction to another; in brief, he was just the opposite of that which was required for regulating the finances of the realm. At first this object was sought by economy. A great part of the royal stables was done away with, about 25,000 soldiers were disbanded, and a number of offices were abolished. But these measures were as yet too limited to effect a fundamental improvement. The Duke of St. Simon considered that only a complete bankruptcy on the part of the state could bring about deliverance, since the ruin of the state creditors should certainly be preferred to that of the whole country. A plan so radical as this was assuredly not adopted, although under different pretexts a partial bankruptcy was put in operation. There was erected a so-called 'visa-bureau,' which was to examine all claims of the floating debt, and to turn them into a fund represented by the 'state-notes.' But the 'visa-bureau' went to work so arbitrarily in its examination, that of the 600,000,000 of notes delivered, it recognized less than half, that is, 250,000,000; and, furthermore, these were to bear interest only at the very unusually low rate of four per cent. And, consequently, this amount sank in value forty per cent, so that it was not worth more than 150,000,000. Thus the creditors were defrauded of more than two-thirds of their demands. The interest of the previous state debts was lowered not less arbitrarily from eight per cent to five per cent. Finally, it was in the highest degree unjust, although an advantage to the people, that at this time a multitude of offices were abolished for which considerable sums had been paid by their possessors. Thus were all those who had had financial business with the state most deeply injured; it may be conceived what results such a pro-

ceeding would have on the future credit of the state. The new government had at least solemnly promised not to resort again to the expedient of altering the value of the coin. Two months later it called in the louis d'or and the silver crown; instead of 16 or 4 livres which had been their value hitherto, the designation of 20 and of 5 livres, respectively, was stamped upon them. Thus on 1,000,000,000 livres the profit was estimated at 200,000,000. Instead, however, of this total amount, only 380,000,000 of livres were brought in, from which a profit of 76,000,000 was derived. The anger of the subjects thus cheated and ruined in their honest business was not less great than the disgrace inflicted by this measure upon the government.

The Duke of Noailles was to the last degree indignant at the failure of these measures, as well as at the opposition and censure with which his financial projects were in general received. He ascribed the blame of these failures in great part to the money-dealers who were accustomed to act on behalf of the state, and resolved to revenge himself on them, while he filled the treasury at their expense. In this he knew that he was in unison with public sentiment. They were accused of having caused the distress of the country by their embezzlements and speculations, and were disliked by all. Noailles, therefore, revived an edict of the year 1625, which decreed the institution of a regular court of inquiry, to be held every ten years for the examination of all money-dealers having transactions with the state. The chamber was opened in March, 1716, with retroactive power extending as far back as the year 1689. The ordinance without delay arraigned all contractors, farmers of taxes, collectors, and bankers of the state, as thieves and extortioners. Every one who purposed presenting charges or denunciations against men of this description was placed under the king's special protection; and to him were also promised a fifth of the money penalty, and one-tenth of the hidden treasure or valuables recovered by his aid. In such ways this greedy and lazy government appealed to the lowest and commonest passions of men, in order to enrich itself in a manner as easy as it was disgraceful. Under the name of justice there now began a plundering of financial officials, in which even the judges of the 'Chamber of Justice' participated for their own advantage. The unfortunates were condemned to undergo degrading punishments, and were sacrificed to the vengeance of the populace. Four thousand four hundred and ten persons were

sentenced to pay fines amounting to 220,000,000 livres. But of this sum only 70,000,000 came to the state. As for the remainder, the persons condemned knew how to come to terms, by obtaining the protection of a courtier, or still better, of a mistress of the regent, or of his ministers. As well in order to be able to continue this worthless traffic as to replenish the public treasury which had been emptied by it, the 'Burning Chamber,' as men called it to designate its fearful power, began to extend its operations to such rich people as never had the slightest connection with public affairs. Meanwhile, this wicked course was gradually effecting a complete transformation in public opinion. The public began to pity the families of the financial officials, and the aversion of the community was turned from them against their plunderers. The parlements, the Chamber of Accounts, the officials of the city of Paris, rose against the 'Chamber of Justice,' and forbade their executive officers to give any support to the latter. No man was willing to undertake any business with the state: there was no one to collect its taxes. The whole administration threatened to fall apart. The regent was, therefore, compelled in March, 1717, after one year of its operations, to close the Chamber of Justice.

Thus, in order to obtain a relatively insignificant lessening of the national debt, had suffering and sorrow been inflicted upon a hundred thousand families of the creditors and officials of the state, public credit frightfully impaired, stagnation of business and traffic brought about, and the power of the state, to an extent hitherto unknown, rendered the object not only of universal hatred, but also of universal contempt. Louis XIV. had been feared; to the regent, little respect was accorded.

Orleans was himself fully conscious of the failure of his financial plans: and in his utter perplexity, he was disposed to grasp at the most desperate measures that seemed possible, in order to free the public revenue from this burden of the payment of the interest that pressed upon it, and thus create necessary resources for the government. A Scotch adventurer, John Law, promised to deliver him from this embarrassment without the expense of a sou to the national treasury.

This John Law was the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith (born 1671). He had enjoyed an excellent education, and had become specially versed in mathematics and the science of accounts. Many journeys upon the Continent had served to make him familiar with

the cash and credit relations of the chief commercial countries. With high and ambitious aims, he formed comprehensive plans for the reorganization of public credit. His plans were based upon sound reflection and exact calculation, but were soon lost in boundless schemes. He appeared in Paris toward the end of the reign of Louis XIV. Here he found a favorable reception, since he claimed a distinguished descent, and spent money, especially at play, with lavish hands. He obtained general admittance to the salons of Paris, which stood open to all those who gave themselves out as noble, had good manners, and appeared to be rich. He used his acquaintances in order to make an application very soon to the regent, with the promise of at once putting an end to the needs of the state. No one could at this time venture to treat him as a mere adventurer; the views on currency which he had expressed in his memorials to the Parliament of Scotland, and also in his book "*Observations Concerning Coinage*," contain much that is true and novel. He sought in credit, in paper money, a substitute for metallic means of exchange, which were no longer adequate in quantity for the wants of the new epoch; and in that he recognized the most important currency of the future; he desired, furthermore, to convert small sums by combination into a great and fruitful power. At first he asked only, and obtained, authority to establish a stockholders' bank, under the name of the *Banque Générale* (May, 1716), the capital of which was placed provisionally at 6,000,000 livres, and which was authorized to act as a bank for the business of exchange and collection, as well as for the issue of bank-notes. The bank, whose management had been very acceptable and equitable, came especially into vogue when (April, 1717) its notes were assured acceptance by the state treasury. Law could soon pay his stockholders a half-yearly dividend of seven per cent. But with such results the bold Scot was not content. The regent, who had been completely won over to the views of Law, even gave up his former favorite, the Duke of Noailles; and the parlements, also, were obliged at last to cease their opposition. In March, 1718, the bank was raised to the dignity of a royal bank ('*Banque Royale*'), and the subscribers received back their shares. The bank-note press promised inexhaustible treasures; within a short time 110,000,000 livres were struck off.

At the same time Law initiated another undertaking not less comprehensive. Hitherto all attempts to establish French colonies

in the Mississippi region had failed. Now this Scrotehman received a privilege to found a 'Western Company' ('Compagnie d'Océan-*dent*'), which should push forward the business of colonization on its own account, and should furthermore work in the supposed gold-fields of Louisiana, and engage in the fur-trade. This is the enterprise so famous under the name of 'The Mississippi Scheme,' or 'The System.' For this purpose the company assumed 100,000,000 of assignments of the state treasury, for which it was to pay a yearly interest of only four per cent. In a short time the company purchased the tobacco royalty, and then bought out the Senegal and the African, East India, and China companies, and received the name of the 'Compagnie des Indes.' It now controlled the entire foreign commerce of France, and the royal bank monopolized the credit and monetary system. Both institutions were united under the common management of Law. The activity of Law became more and more comprehensive, more and more exciting. His 'Indian Company' acquired from the state the royalty in coinage, as well as the general farming of the indirect revenues, and, in view of these very lucrative engagements, undertook to make to the king, in liquidation of all his indebtedness, a loan of 1,200,000,000 livres, on which the interest was to be only three per cent. To the state would thus accrue a profit of some 20,000,000 livres every year, inasmuch as it had hitherto paid its creditors a far higher interest.

The company had need of vast resources in order to provide for all these enterprises; means were supplied by the issue of new stock. With all manner of devices the rage of the public for speculation was stimulated. The original possessors of the old shares made inordinate gains, and this incited every one to emulation. A senseless rage for speculation took possession of all ranks in the community. The Rue Quincampoix, in which were situated the offices of the 'Indian Company,' were constantly the scene of the wildest proceedings, which on the days when new shares were to be issued became a frightful crush, and led to actual violence. Nobles and ecclesiastics took part in this struggle, no less than civilians. From the provinces, and even from foreign countries, great numbers of people poured into the Rue Quincampoix. A hunchback who offered his back as a writing-desk to those subscribing for stock acquired, by this simple industry, a fortune of 150,000 livres. The gains of the regent, of the royal princesses, and of the initiated among the courtiers,

were great beyond all proportion. Meanwhile Philip of Orleans ordered the bank-note presses to be kept diligently at work; his greed



FIG. 1. — A Dutch cartoon of John Law,

for money had abused the sound and just maxims of Law, and these were finally perverted to a ruinous degree.

The excitement and delusion rose to its height when Law (Fig. 1), after he had gone over to the Roman Catholic religion, was

appointed Comptroller-General of Finance. Now he seemed to have become the unrestricted master of all the resources of the state.

At this time it was observed with astonishment that Law and his confidants began to sell their stock, and to exchange the bank-notes received for it for houses and lands. The public was startled, and began to have distrust. A constantly increasing number of stockholders struck off their property at prices that were becoming lower and lower. It was perceived, when too late, that the 'Indian Company' never would be in a condition to pay dividends in proportion to the immense rise to which its shares had been pushed. Law had to fear the utter depreciation, and even the breaking up, of the company. In order to prevent this he conceived the plan of combining the company with the bank as closely as possible, and of substituting by forcible measures the notes of this institution for a metallic currency. He hoped in this manner to secure their full value to bank-notes, and by means of them to save the 'Indian Company.' The bank was therefore united with the company, while the Crown retained only a supervision over it. Now the value of every share in the 'Indian Company' was fixed at 9000 livres in bank-notes. The stockholders rushed to the treasuries to exchange their shares for notes. Three billions of paper money was issued in order to meet the payments. But such a flood of bank-notes excited distrust. These now began to sink in their turn, and soon they were worth in specie only fifty per cent of their nominal value.

With alarm Law saw the last pillar of his structure tottering; he sought to hold it up at any expense. The depreciation of bank-notes must be artificially checked. The government, therefore, ordered that all payments over 300 livres should be made in notes, on which a premium of five per cent was arbitrarily decreed. The price of the louis d'or was then diminished, the purchase of diamonds forbidden; gold and silver utensils were prohibited, and also the possession of more than 500 livres in specie. The rest was to be delivered up to the company and exchanged for notes. Then began a real hunt for coin. The officers of the company at their discretion searched every house to find out such property and confiscate it. But nothing succeeded; on the contrary, the compulsion applied by Law betrayed only his helplessness and uneasiness. Only 44,000,000 livres in coin were received into the coffers of the company; the remainder was hidden till better times. Then Law grasped at a desperate expedient. Gold coins were declared not to be current

anywhere, the use of silver was to be confined to small change (May, 1720). But now the people rushed to the offices of the company in order to exchange ten-franc notes for silver coin. With all his strength Law resisted the threatened bankruptcy, but before the might of facts the resources of his inventive mind failed. The Parlement refused registry to the royal financial edicts; for this it was banished to Amboise, but this did not help matters. Nor did Law's resignation as minister of finance suffice to lessen the fury of the people. The bank-notes sank to ten per cent; finally the decisive blow fell; and on October 10, 1721, the 3,071,000,000 livres of bank-notes were at once declared irredeemable. 'The System' had collapsed. Law could no longer remain in France. On December 14 he left Paris, and then France, taking with him only 800 louis d'ors. He went to Genoa and Venice, constantly occupied with financial operations. He died in the year 1729.

The question now was, to make order out of what he had left. The Paris Brothers, able financiers of the old school, were intrusted with the control of this affair. From the funds of the state they paid the holders of bank-notes one-third part of their nominal value. The Indian Company was continued, but with a very great reduction of its capital stock.

The result was that the regent, the princes, and some fortunate speculators made enormous gains, the state had unjustly reduced its debt one-half, but a great number of families were entirely or in great part ruined. If the anger of the people did not immediately find vent in a revolution,—a circumstance that filled many contemporaries with amazement,—still, the terrible commotion of the Law crisis dealt a heavy blow to the authority of monarchy.

More successful than his financial, was the foreign policy of the regent. Here also entirely new paths were trodden. In this, unlike Louis XIV., Philip appeared as the adversary of Spain, and formed a close union with England, hitherto the enemy of France. It was true that the cause of this complete transformation in French policy existed less at Paris than at Madrid.

In the latter capital there reigned without restraint the new queen and her favorite Alberoni. Elizabeth Farnese, a beautiful woman of full, voluptuous form, intellectual and energetic, completely ruled her feeble and fond husband. She was convinced that she had found, in the man who had so artfully and successfully brought about her marriage, the fittest instrument for executing her

restless and ambitious plans. Giulio Alberoni (born 1664) was the son of a gardener who lived near Piacenza. In the school of the Barnabite monks of that city he distinguished himself in such a manner, that the papal vice-legate of Ravenna noticed him, and caused him to be educated for the priesthood. The clever and finely cultivated young abbé then became one of the courtiers of his hereditary lord, the Duke of Parma, who soon employed him in various diplomatic affairs, and finally appointed him consul at Madrid. Chance would have it, that just at the moment when Philip V. was looking for a second consort, the Parmesan minister-resident at Madrid was absent, and his place was filled temporarily by Alberoni. We know with what skill he was able to profit by this concurrence of circumstances. Now he, the Italian gardener's son, had become the master of Spain. He was not unworthy of so high a position. He had an iron will, a pliant mind, a ready and happy power of conception, and an indefatigable ability to labor. Earlier he had been too much addicted to dissolute courses; but now he labored eighteen hours daily, and excluded every amusement, every recreation. In a short time the finances of Spain were put in order, her army raised to 100,000 men, and her navy to seventy ships of the line. The new minister was able to win over to the service of the state, and organize into regular regiments, even the mercenaries of Catalonia and Aragon, who shortly before had fought against the Bourbons. But he perceived that for his object a comprehensive renovation of the rotten Spanish state and of the habits of the people was necessary. He therefore drove out of the administration the greedy sluggards; he invited, especially from Holland, skilful architects and artisans, to whom he committed poor Spanish boys for instruction: he erected manufactories and improved the rivers; he established naval schools and magazines: he purified courts of justice of their most flagrant evils. With a boast not wholly without foundation, Alberoni said to King Philip: "Your Majesty, give me only four years of peace, and I will make you the most formidable sovereign in Europe."

But it was the tragic destiny of Alberoni (Fig. 2), and of Spain, that even the four years desired by him were not to be granted. The restless and inordinate ambition of Elizabeth caused her, immediately on the death of Louis XIV., to conceive the plan of supplanting Philip of Orleans in the French regency, and then, after the death of the feeble child, Louis XV., of securing the throne of

France for her consort, notwithstanding the Treaty of Utrecht and the solemn renunciation on the part of Philip V. Without delay Philip began to bring forward his pretensions, and even in France to foment intrigues against the regent. The latter sought aid in England.



FIG. 2 — Cardinal Alberoni. (From a copper-plate engraving by G. P. Busch.)

In this he was admirably advised by the Abbé Dubois, an upstart like Alberoni. The son of an apothecary, born (1656) at Brives-la-Gaillarde, in Limousin, this intellectual and well-educated man was introduced by a friend to the tutor of young Philip of Chartres,



PLATE II.



Abbe Dubois.

From a copper-plate engraving by C. Roy; original painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743).

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV., page 39.

afterwards Duke of Orleans. The tutor, hindered in the discharge of his duties by sickness, accepted Dubois as his assistant; and when the former died Philip would have no other instructor than the amiable abbé, who overflowed with wit and humor, and consequently was most acceptable. In truth Dubois, notwithstanding his ecclesiastical dress, was the most cynical and immoral of all men; he confirmed and aided his pupil in his evil propensities, and even went beyond him in sceptical scoffing. But while by preference he wallowed in the filth of society, he nevertheless showed a force and elasticity of mind which, under such circumstances, excite two-fold astonishment, and he manifested great acuteness and discernment in matters of business. He was also in his way truly devoted to his former pupil and subsequent master. Dubois never considered the interest or the greatness of his country; he regarded himself always as the 'old servant' of the regent, for whose special advantage he employed all the resources of his richly endowed intellect. He knew Philip of Orleans sufficiently to be convinced that in this manner he was effectually planning for his own advancement. The regent at first appointed him only councillor of state; but in this relatively subordinate position Dubois was soon enabled by his intelligence and energy to acquire important influence. He persuaded the duke that only an alliance with England could protect him against the intrigues of his numerous enemies. Dubois was sent, under an assumed name, in July, 1716, to Holland and Hanover, where Stanhope, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was sojourning at that time. After winning over Stanhope to favor a complete change in the foreign policy of England, the adroit and insinuating diplomatist had no less success with King George I. At home Dubois was forced to overcome the opposition of the French manager of foreign affairs, Marshal de Huxelles. But his pertinacity and boundless versatility triumphed over all his adversaries. The Duke of Noailles was banished from the court. On October 10, 1716, Dubois (PLATE II.) concluded with England a treaty, to which Holland acceded on January 4, 1717, and which was henceforth styled the Triple Alliance. By this treaty France was pledged to expel the Stuart Pretender from her territory, and never to give him support, and was to defend the Protestant supremacy in England, if it should be menaced, with ten thousand men. Moreover, she was to destroy completely the harbors of Dunkirk and Mardyke. In return the duke obtained the

recognition of his right to succeed to the throne in the event of the death of Louis XV., as well as the promise of an auxiliary force of ten thousand Englishmen and five thousand Dutchmen, if he should be attacked by any foreign power.

The Triple Alliance strengthened at home and abroad only the position of the regent. It was soon to have its solidarity tried in a great European crisis.

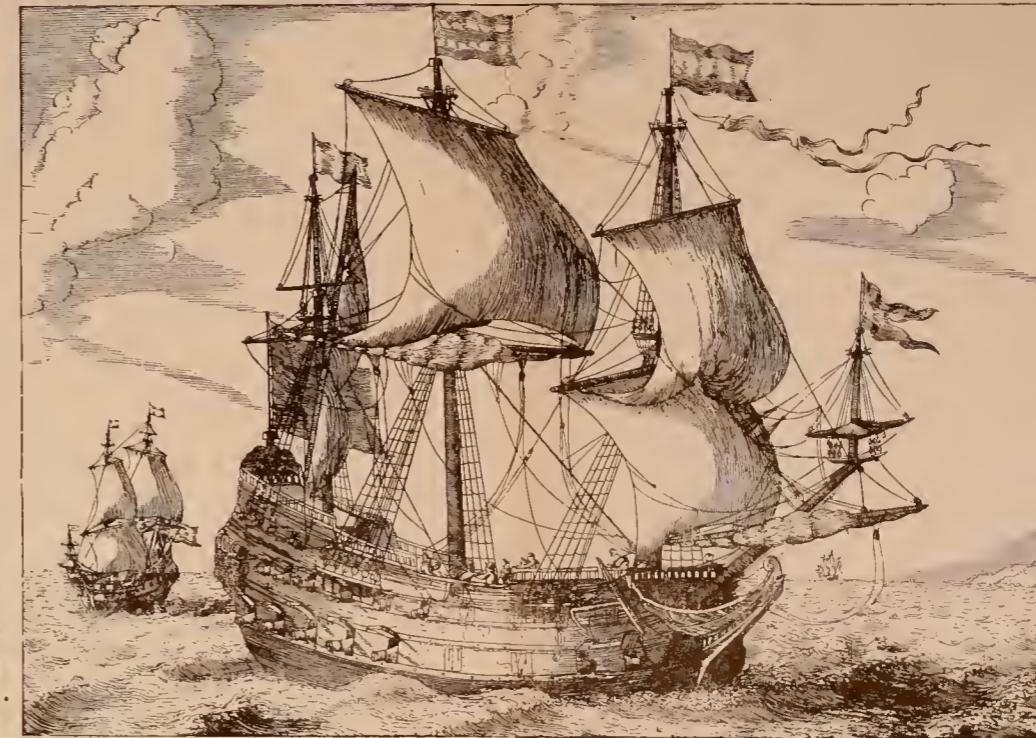
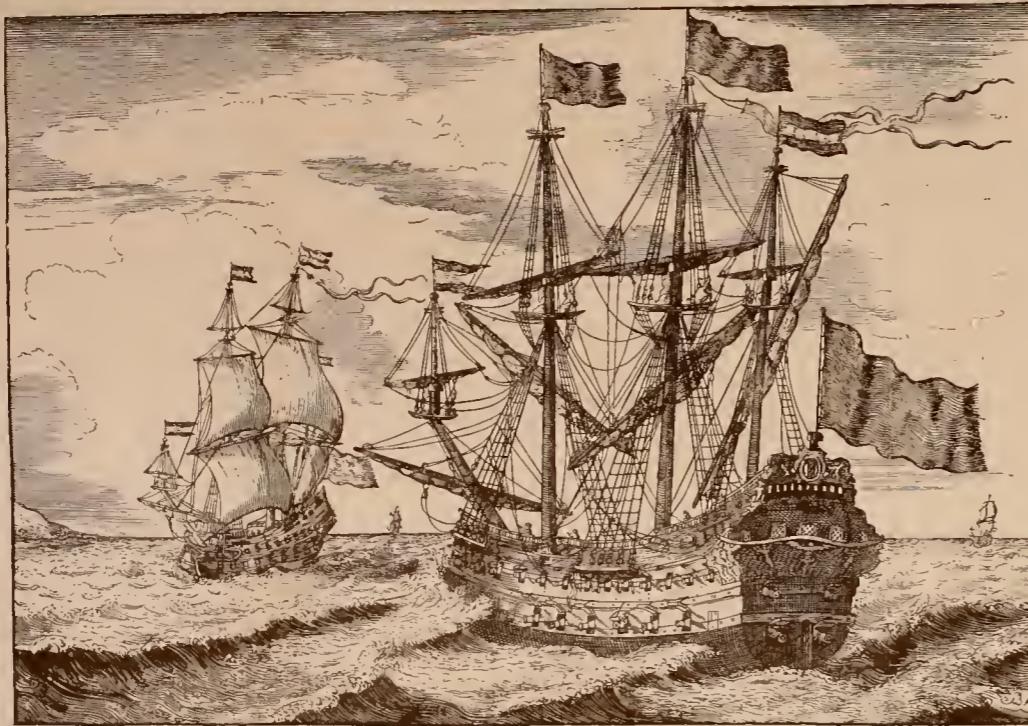


FIG. 3.—Elizabeth of Parma, Queen of Spain. (From a contemporary copper-plate engraving.)

In the beginning of the year 1716 Elizabeth Farnese (Fig. 3) had borne her husband a son, Don Carlos; and this son was soon followed by a second, Don Felipe. But since the king had sons by his first marriage also, Elizabeth desired to provide kingdoms for her descendants outside of Spain. For this purpose she sought to avail herself of the circumstance that the Emperor Charles VI. had



PLATE III.



Battle-ships of the second half of the seventeenth century.

Facsimile of two engravings by Ludolf Bakhuizen (1631-1708).

not yet concluded a formal treaty of peace with Spain, to reconquer from Austria the former Spanish possessions in Italy. The emperor was occupied at this time by a war with the Turks, and the occasion seemed favorable for beginning hostilities. She expected either to gain over the regent, and to detach him from the Triple Alliance, or to overthrow him by means of intrigues. In vain was the immediate outbreak of the conflict opposed by Alberoni because his preparations were not completed. He was obliged to yield to the impetuosity of the queen, and to the will of the king, who depended upon her altogether. Under the pretence of wishing to fight the Turks, Alberoni undertook to get ready with feverish haste, and actually sent several vessels into the Levantine waters, which assisted in driving the Turks from the investment of Corfu. But when the great fleet of Spanish ships of war (PLATE III.), with many regiments on board, set sail,—August, 1717,—it was not directed against the Turks, but against the island of Sardinia, which belonged to the emperor. As a pretext for this audacious attack in the midst of peace, the fact was adduced that the Spanish inquisitor-general, on whom the Austrian authorities hoped to discover papers of importance, had been arrested while travelling through the Milanese territory. The imperialists being poorly prepared, Sardinia was completely conquered in a few months.

The states composing the Triple Alliance, thoroughly desiring to avoid the re-opening of the war, sought to mediate between Spain and Charles VI. But the easily acquired success in Sardinia served to embolden Elizabeth and Alberoni. It was only for the sake of appearances that they entered into negotiation. With astonishing presumption they sought to disarm their too-powerful adversaries. Alberoni pressed with the greatest energy the execution of a daring plan of the Swedish minister, Görtz, to bring about a peace between Charles XII. and the Czar Peter, and to employ the united Swedish-Russian forces for the restoration of the Stuarts in England. The regent of France he endeavored, by splendid offers, to detach from the Triple Alliance. Philip of Orleans, however, remained true to his obligations. Alberoni then brought upon the stage a vast conspiracy against him. The Spanish ambassador at Paris, the Prince of Cellamare, gathered about himself all the disaffected members of the French nobility,—the Duke of Maine, Cardinal de Polignac, the young Duke of Richelieu, and many other adherents of the policy of Louis XIV., and enemies of the English alliance. There

was a plan to seize the person of Orleans, to take him to Spain as a prisoner, and to proclaim Philip V. regent, as whose lieutenant Maine was to undertake the direction of French affairs.

Confiding in all these preparations, Alberoni struck out afresh. A great Spanish fleet, with 35,000 picked troops, landed in Sicily in July for the purpose of punishing the Savoyards for refusing the Spanish alliance. In many places the Sicilians rose against the Piedmontese rule. Messina and its citadel were taken without great difficulty.

But at this moment the emperor made peace with the Turks at Passarowitz, and then (August, 1718) acceded to the Triple Alliance, which became the 'Quadruple Alliance.' So great was the desire for peace on the part of the Powers, and such their moderation, that, to the great sorrow of the emperor, who bitterly hated the Bourbons, they still brought forward a programme advantageous to Spain, and proffered it to that government. Alberoni, trusting to his intrigues, rejected it. A superior English fleet under Admiral Byng attacked the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro, in the vicinity of Syracuse, and completely destroyed it (August 22, 1718). The Spanish troops in Sicily were thereby cut off from Spain. The intrigues of Alberoni were also foiled. In July, Dubois had received through the English government sufficient information of Cellamare's conspiracy; some months afterward a scribe made known to Dubois all the details. In December all the heads of the conspiracy were put in prison, and Cellamare expelled from the country. The publication of these transactions excited in France lively dissatisfaction with the Spanish government. At the same time, by the death of Charles XII. before Frederikshald (December, 1718), Alberoni lost all hopes of Sweden and Russia. The Spanish fleet, which was going to Scotland, was treated so roughly by a storm in the Bay of Biscay that it was compelled to return hastily to Spanish harbors (March, 1719). Only 300 Spaniards reached Scotland, where they were joined by 2000 Highlanders; but in a few weeks they were all slain or made prisoners in the valley of Glenshiel by the royal forces.

Thus Spain found herself entirely alone. Fifty thousand imperial soldiers pressed forward from Hungary to Italy, and overcame the Spanish army in Sicily. France and England declared war against Philip V. An English fleet plundered the coasts of the Spanish peninsula, and seized upon Vigo, the principal harbor in

the province of Galicia. With a French army Marshal Berwick, who had secured the Spanish throne for Philip V., now marched against him. Fuenterrabia and San Sebastian, without any great resistance, went over to the marshal: and the docks on the northern coast were burned by his soldiers. There was no longer a Spanish fleet or a Spanish army.

The fury of the people was directed chiefly against the foreign upstart, Alberoni, upon whom Philip and Elizabeth found it convenient to put all the blame. On December 5, 1719, the cardinal received his dismissal from all his offices, and was ordered to depart from Spanish soil. The government, which Alberoni had directed shortly before, even persecuted him in Italy, and compelled him to keep himself hidden among the Apennines. Later, when passions had abated, he was able to occupy his place as cardinal in Rome. In that office he quarrelled with several popes, and always remained one of the most restless and enterprising members of the Sacred College. He did not die till June 16, 1752, at the age of eighty-eight. Under more favorable circumstances he might have become the Richelieu of Spain.

With his fall the war of Spain with the Quadruple Alliance came to an end. On February 17, 1720, the ambassador of Philip V. at The Hague gave his absolute adherence to that alliance, and accepted its programme, which was still sufficiently favorable to his master. Philip renounced his claims to the throne of France and to all Spain's former possessions in Italy. In consideration of this he was recognized by the emperor as king of Spain and of the Indies; and to Charles and Philip, his sons by Elizabeth, was promised the succession to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma. Charles VI. received Sicily from the duke of Savoy; and for it made over to him Sardinia, which was made a kingdom.

It was doubtful whether this result of the Quadruple Alliance answered the true interests of France. There was no doubt, however, that it strengthened the regent. He was able to fill all offices with his creatures. Dubois became secretary of state for foreign affairs, then prime minister, and finally was made a cardinal. As a politician Dubois continued to show considerable merit. He succeeded in reconciling Spain with France, and thus remedied one of the greatest evils of the previous situation; while he married, in the year 1721, the fourth daughter of the regent to Prince Louis of Asturias, heir to the Spanish throne, and affianced the regent's fifth

daughter to the Infant Charles, and furthermore caused the Infanta Maria Anna to be brought to France, to be educated there as the future wife of Louis XV.

It was the regent's fault that, notwithstanding the success of his foreign policy, his rule gradually became more and more despised and detested by the French people. At first the disgraceful failure of the Law speculations, and the perversity manifested by Philip while they were pending, helped to produce this feeling; and subsequently his shameless demeanor, and his reckless scoffing and indulgence in excesses. He spent his nights passing through Paris in a hackney-coach, supping now with one, now with another of his companions; or in the Palais Royal with his mistresses, his legitimate daughter, the Duchess of Berry, a band of audacious opera-dancers, and a dozen of his male associates, whom he styled publicly his *roués*.<sup>1</sup> In these suppers the guests spoke of everything without the least restraint, always with cynical scoffs, and always with spirit and wit. They first got drunk on champagne, and then the most shameless excesses began. The favorite daughter of the regent, the Duchess of Berry, perpetrated in word and deed such monstrosities as could be explained only on the ground of insanity. At intervals the duchess retired for a time to the Carmelite Convent in Paris, fasted and prayed, until the craving for sensual enjoyments again seized upon her; and then, like one risen from the grave, she appeared once more among the partners of her pleasures. When Louis XV. grew up, Philip made the concession to decorum of transferring his orgies from the Palais Royal to St. Cloud, at a distance from the immediate vicinity of the young sovereign. The numerous illegitimate children of Orleans entered absolutely without shame into incestuous relations with his legitimate offspring. Balls were held in the Grand Opera, admission to which was open to every one who paid. Here were publicly to be seen the regent and his *roués* with their mistresses, and the Duchess of Berry with her lovers. The most fearful immorality spread among all orders. The Bishop of Beaufvais, for a long time irreproachable, now foppishly dressed, and with his hair curled, drove about in the streets of the capital with his mistress, until the populace threw stones at his carriage. Those who still held husbands and wives to the requirement of faithfulness in wedlock were considered Philistines. The veil which the pompous and proud ceremonial of Louis XIV. had thrown over his vices and those of his court was now torn away.

On these disgraceful pleasures was the money received from Law's victims lavished with scandalous profusion. The Duchess of Berry maintained eight hundred servants; her rings alone were valued at 600,000 livres. When she died, in 1719, the regent increased by twenty per cent the capitation tax in the province of Paris, in order to pay the debts which his daughter had left.

The luxury and voluptuous splendor of the court were in sharp contrast with the wretchedness caused by Law's System, and the suffering produced by a fearful pestilence, which in Marseilles destroyed 50,000 of the 90,000 inhabitants, and subsequently devastated all Provence. The indignation of the people was universal, and was directed violently against the government, which had done nothing to alleviate the pestilence. Bitter satires were circulated against the regent, charging him with abominable crimes. A fresh scandal heightened the wrath of the multitude. In the year 1720 Dubois, who had taken no orders, was appointed by the regent to the archbishopric of Cambrai. The people styled him 'Bishop Saere-Dieu.' He was compared not only to Sejanus, the favorite of Tiberius, but also to the horse which Caligula made consul.

Without troubling himself at all on account of these attacks, Dubois sought the cardinalate, which he had not obtained in 1720, and sought to gain it from the pope by destroying the opposition of the Gallicans to the bull *Unigenitus*; and the regent now, for the sake of Dubois, took sides with the extreme ultramontanes. It sufficed that with the aid of the famous Massillon he caused a doctrine to be set up which was designed to reconcile the Jansenists to the official doctrines of Rome, and also caused a series of explanations to be set forth which might make the bull *Unigenitus* acceptable to its enemies. The Curia willingly accepted these proposals. To the assistance of Rome, which was content with such a solution, Dubois came with his wonted diplomatic art. It was important first of all to deprive the appellants of the Cardinal de Noailles, by birth and position their most eminent leader. The Curia was able, by a combination of gentleness and menace, blended with wonderful skill, to lead the peace-loving prelate from one concession to another, until, shaken and uncertain, and enfeebled in body and mind by the constant agitation and tension, he yielded to a compromise which looked very much like a victory of his adversaries. A great majority of the French bishops followed this example (1720). After such successes, the regent issued a decree

which once more announced the bull, with the explanations and limitations accepted by the cardinal, as a law of the state, and prohibited all opposition or appeal. In vain was a greater degree of firmness shown by a part of the parochial clergy of Paris, by some of the doctors of the Sorbonne, as well as by certain diocesan chapters. The league between Dubois and the Jesuits became closer than ever: he procured for them again the privilege of appointing confessors for the king. Now were begun again the persecutions of the Jansenists, to whom absolution was denied, and who as a body were punished with exile and imprisonment. The only one who ventured to offer open resistance was a daughter of the regent, the Abbess of Chelles, who, confiding in her rank, boldly undertook to protect the persecuted Jansenites against the Jesuits.

After Dubois had given such proofs of his 'piety,' he might venture boldly to display his boundless greed. His annual receipts were equal to about three millions of francs according to the present value of money. Archbishop, cardinal, prime minister, he also caused himself to be named, although destitute of all literary merit, a member of the French Academy. But he did not long enjoy his triumph; for he died August 17, 1723. A man of intellect, of keen understanding, a skilful diplomatist, not exactly an evil character, he had by his self-seeking, and his coquettishness with ultramontanism, inflicted deep wounds on the kingdom.

His master, the regent, survived him only a few months. The last years of this prince were marked by the downfall of all his creations. The 'System' of Law suffered no less a shipwreck than the free ecclesiastical sentiments which Philip had followed at the beginning of his rule. He had lost the respect and goodwill of all. For this he had consoled himself by a constantly increasing devotion to the most frivolous excesses, although these were visibly destroying more and more his bodily and mental powers. This blasé prince took no pains to prolong his life: he desired only to amuse himself, and then to die a speedy death. On December 2, in the presence of one of his mistresses, an apoplectic fit put a sudden end to his life. It was said, in allusion to his last favorite, the Duchess of Falari, that he died in the presence of his regular confessor. He journeyed to hell, they sang, in order to seduce Proserpine, and rob Lucifer of his throne.

Although nominally of age, yet the king, now aged fourteen, did not for a moment think of assuming the government himself. On

the recommendation of his instruetor, André Hercule de Fleury, bishop of Fréjus, he committed the government to the prince of the blood nearest in rank, Duke Henry of Bourbon, head of the house of Condé.

Louis XIV. had bound the French people with fetters of iron. The regent granted greater freedom to thought, to the press, and to action; and thus he had himself summoned genius into the political arena. The courageous and noble Massillon at that time dared from the pulpit of the court church to instruct the young king that he owed to his people a free and thoroughly legal government; that he ruled not over slaves, but over a free and brave people. Massillon even expressed, in the presence of the king, the beautiful maxim, "Sire, you are only the servant and the first observer of the laws." But little were such views carried into effect under the government of a Philip of Orleans. While he manifested a shameless cynicism, unbounded selfishness, an utter lack of firmness and consistency; while he had torn down the barriers between the throne and the people, only to show to the world the throne stained with every form of vice,—he had destroyed, also, all consideration and reverence for the ruler, and had made the crown appear a useless, even ruinous, burden for the nation, and an institution which even the king himself could no longer look upon seriously.

Not one voice favorable to the regent was lifted up among the people, or in the flood of literary productions constantly increasing in numbers and in passionate language: on the contrary, writers aimed their most violent attacks against Philip of Orleans. The Duchess of Berry was freely accused of lewdness with her father. No crime, no tyranny, with which he and his ministers were not reproached. Anonymous papers demanded a St. Bartholomew's eve for Law and his defenders, and reproached the French people with cowardice and folly in suffering men who were absolutely and ignominiously ruining them. Insulting verses on the regent were found nailed to the door of his chamber. A strong and manly spirit pervaded the world of authors of that period. Frivolous as was the epoch of the Regency in ordinary life, no cynical and scandalous book can be named as belonging to it. Translations of the works of Newton made known to the French the discoveries of the great investigator, and placed before their eyes the uniformity of Nature's laws, while the translation of Locke's "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" developed the sceptical and positive philosophy

among them. The amiable and fanciful Abbé Charles de St. Pierre (born 1658) published his “Treatise Concerning the Majority in the Meetings of the Councils,” in which he convincingly set forth the evils of personal government as it had prevailed under Louis XIV., and urgently recommended decentralization. The ruling orders perceived so clearly St. Pierre’s hostility to the conditions prevailing at that day, and his dangerous character, that he was deprived of his seat in the Academy. Less consideration was given to his well-meant dreams of a universal league, unfortunately hard to be realized, in which individual states should settle their differences by means of a court of arbitration recognized by all (“Outline of Universal Peace,” 1713). Greater, or more immediate, was the effect of Montesquieu’s “Persian Letters,” which appeared anonymously in the year 1721. With ingenuous irony, under the mask of a Persian visiting Europe, the author lashes the condition of France in its religious as well as its political aspects. In this book the king is likened to a magician, from his power of issuing fiat money. “But there is in France a magician who is even more powerful than the king, and he is called the pope; that is, a old idol-image, which people burn incense for from custom. The bishops are officers of justice devoted to him, who have almost nothing to do except to dispense with the execution of the laws.” The nobility consists of “people who see the king, talk with the ministers, and have ancestors, debts, and pensions: they are recruited from the respectable body of servants.” Thus Montesquieu mocks at every order in France, but he also passes on to positive proposals for improvement. The great relief for all evils he sees in freedom. Opposing all idle inquiries into the origin and basis of society, which are grounded in the needs of human nature, Montesquieu sought for a practical historical example of the best state, such as should supplant the absolute, ultramontane, and feudal monarchy existing in France. This model the “*Lettres Persanes*” found in England.

The “*Lettres Persanes*,” with their sharp and contemptuous attacks upon the official system of the government and the official church, made a very deep impression. The educated, already influenced by Bayle’s and Locke’s detailed expositions, read the “*Lettres Persanes*” with avidity and applause: and even the lower classes were affected by the scepticism of those above them in rank. The great Saumur manufactory of sacred objects and rosaries complained from the year 1721 of the complete stagnation of its sales,

and the local authorities ascribed the decline to the abatement of religious zeal.

At that time the youthful François Marie Arouet Voltaire was less effective in the religious and political liberation of his people. Born at Paris, November 20, 1694, the son of a finance officer, Arouet, he grew up in one of those prosperous citizen families which then were wont to employ their leisure in the zealous reading and discussion of popular writings. His godfather, the Abbé de Châteauneuf, had introduced him into the intellectual, blasé, and sceptical society which gathered about the aged, but still attractive courtesan, Ninon de Lenelos. In such a circle he laid the foundation of that career in thought and action which he afterward pursued during his whole life. He was known as a poet of odes and epistles, as author of the tragedy of "Oedipus." But as a political combatant, young Arouet 'de Voltaire'—as, for some unknown reason, he now began to call himself—was only preparing the weapons which were destined to be used with terrible effect upon all traditions in state and church.

A decided opposition was maintained in France, among all classes, against the legacies left by Louis XIV. and the regent. The future of the kingdom depended on this,—whether it would have the wisdom to enter upon new and better paths. Meantime Austria, the old enemy of France, grew more and more powerful in the east of Europe.

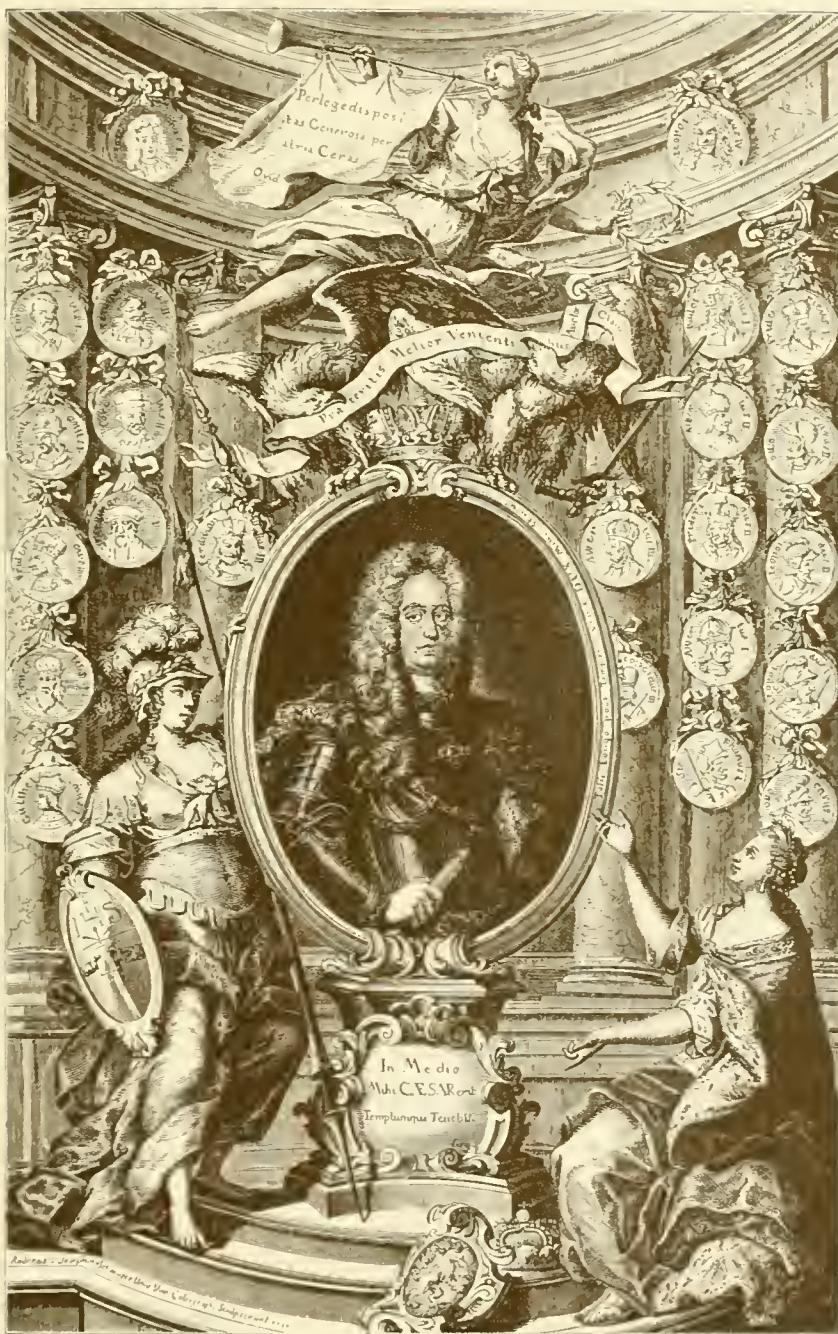
## CHAPTER II.

### THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI. AND THE MARITIME POWERS.

THE personality of Charles VI. (PLATE IV.) seemed to promise much for the House of Austria. Born in 1685, the emperor stood, at the close of the Spanish War of Succession, in the full vigor of manhood. He was an embodiment of manly beauty and strength, fully conscious of his rank; moreover, thoroughly devoted to hunting, to music, to the liberal arts, and to the delights of social life. His piety was exemplary. Not his courtiers alone, but also foreign ambassadors, were obliged to accompany him in his interminable devotions at church and chapel. From Palm Sunday till the Wednesday after Easter—that is, during eleven days—Richelieu, for example, the French ambassador, had accomplished with him a hundred hours of divine service, nine hours every day. His loyal Austrians had received him with enthusiasm. The “truly most obedient states” of Lower Austria deemed that they had “ascended the pinnacle of good fortune, in being allowed to place themselves at the feet of your majesty,” and did not hesitate to believe that “the former golden age was iron in comparison with this, for the sun of an abiding felicity is shining upon us.”

In truth, Charles, in the first years of his government, zealously participated in affairs, and showed that he was inspired by good purposes. In Hungary especially he followed the principles of his deceased brother, and sought to win the people by kindness and an upright and constitutional course of action. He committed the administration of that country to native citizens, and treated the Protestants with such mildness that they were gradually reconciled to the Hapsburg rule. But the emperor soon found participation in public business quite too laborious. He no longer took pains to arrive at an independent judgment. It was altogether a result of this intellectual indolence that if an idea had once been made acceptable to him by anyone, he could not afterward be diverted from it. Obstinatey and want of judgment sprang up in the emperor from the same root. This narrow stubbornness, and this irritating conscious-

PLATE IV.



Emperor Charles VI.

From a copper-plate engraving (1728) by Andreas and Joseph Schmutzer (1700-1741).

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV., page 50.



ness of his own inadequacy, produced in turn the passionate precipitation with which he pursued plans hastily formed, immature, and altogether pernicious.

In the years that followed the conclusion of the Peace of Rastatt and Baden, he at first allowed Prince Eugene, apart from questions that concerned Spain and Italy, to do as he liked. The prince managed the foreign policy of Austria with the same success which he had hitherto obtained as a warrior and diplomatist. Eugene hoped that the notches his victorious sword had received in his conflicts with Villars could most easily and profitably be ground off in attacking the declining Turkish realm.

At this time (1703 to 1730) Achmet III. ruled over that empire. The beginning of his rule had not been without merit. He had improved the system of taxation and the army, erected several fortresses, and established the first Turkish printing-house. From his time, therefore, is reckoned the introduction of European cultivating forces into Turkey, till then rigorously closed against the Christian West. But soon Achmet was ruined, like so many of his predecessors and successors, by the enervating pleasures of the harem. His ambitious grand vizier, Damad Ali, who after the fall of Baltadshi managed the government completely without restraint, joyfully obeyed the universal voice of the army, which demanded the reconquest of the Morea (Peloponnesus), which had been surrendered to the Venetians in the treaty of Carlowitz. Such an enterprise had, indeed, a great prospect of success. The republic had incurred the profound hatred of the Greeks. The nobili of Venice ill-treated them with no less contempt and cruelty than the Turkish pashas had done formerly; and while the Turks had left at least the religion of their subjects unmolested, the Venetians were urgent to establish the interests of Roman Catholicism with its persecuting policy. They sought also to derive commercial profit from the country. Sure of the sympathy of the Greeks, the Porte, in 1714, declared war against the Venetians, and in eight months (1715), with the aid of the inhabitants, and after a fearful effusion of blood, recovered the Morea from them.

A cry of indignation at this barbarity of the unbelievers to the Venetians resounded throughout Europe. Pope Clement XI. declared a crusade against the Ottomans: Austria alone showed readiness to act, though she was under great obligations to the Porte.

Faithfully observing the treaty of Carlowitz, the Porte had remained entirely peaceful during the War of the Spanish Succession, and had especially refused all offers of Rákóczy and the Hungarian insurgents. But when Venice invoked the interposition of Austria in her capacity of joint security for the stipulations made at Carlowitz, the court of Vienna hesitated only till its fear of a Spanish attack in Italy was over. But after the pope and France had satisfied the emperor with regard to such an eventuality, Austria concluded, in the spring of 1716, an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the republic, which the Porte justly regarded as a declaration of war. With an excellent army of 60,000 men, Prince Eugene crossed the Danube, and completely defeated, at Peterwardein (August 5, 1716), a Turkish army twice as numerous. Among the dead was the grand vizier. The fruit of this splendid victory was the conquest of the strongly fortified Temesvár, the last fortress held by the Turks in Hungary, as well as of nearly all the Banat. The next campaign (1717) was aimed at the enemy's most important stronghold on the Lower Danube, Belgrade. Here Eugene won a brilliant victory on July 16, 1717. A few weeks later the Turkish garrison gave up the city, which now became the strongest bulwark of the imperial power against the Ottoman empire.

With this conquest the series of imperial successes ended, just when the attack of Spain upon the emperor's Italian possessions rendered peace with the Porte altogether necessary, to mediate which England had long been striving. A treaty of peace was finally signed on July 21, 1718, at Passarowitz, at the same time for the emperor and for Venice. The simplest obligations of international propriety were violated in reference to the republic, which was obliged to leave the Morea in the hands of the Turks, while her ally, the emperor, retained all his splendid conquests,—Temesvár, and the Banat, all Servia, together with Belgrade, Wallachia as far as the Aluta, Turkish Slavonia, and a part of Bosnia and Croatia. The Peace of Passarowitz marks the epoch of Austria's greatest extent of dominion.

The magnificent result of the two Turkish campaigns encircled the name of Eugene with the most brilliant renown, and made him at once the hero of German national song. The prince was also striving to elevate the imperial army, to do away with the ruinous practice of buying rank, and favoritism, to improve the scientific knowledge of the officers, and to keep the soldiers trained for war.

But his efforts were foiled in great part by the adverse conditions of the Vienna court.

Charles VI. had always felt uneasy on account of the surpassing spirit and character of the Prince of Savoy, and feared that the prince would put him completely in the shade. The more readily, therefore, did he listen to the insinuating accusations of a selfish and crafty favorite, Count Althan. Many envious generals and high officers of state aided the machinations of Althan. As long as the war lasted the emperor had suffered the prince to have his way; but when that was nearly ended, the cabals of Althan found good acceptance, and the control of warlike operations was on the point of being wrested out of Eugene's hands. The prince, meanwhile, had timely information of these intrigues, and baffled them by the threat of leaving Austria; for Charles feared above all that the renowned commander might thereupon place his sword at the command of the Bourbon powers. By his timely and firm action, Eugene effected the downfall of his enemies, with the exception of Althan, from whom, however, death soon freed him. Yet the prince perceived that comparatively less and less weight was given to his counsels. Many reforms planned by Eugene were nipped in the bud. Others failed on account of the continued want of money, for the government at Vienna was administered in such a manner that there was a chronic deficit. The prodigality of the emperor contributed not a little to this.

Externally there certainly seemed splendor enough in the purely German provinces of the emperor, and especially in Vienna, the capital (Fig. 4). The fourteen years from 1720 to 1734 were here a period of material and artistic growth. The sufferings of the era of the Reformation and of the Turkish wars were now overcome. The extremely rich noble had in his castle a joyous, glittering life. Foreigners saw with astonishment the large suites of reception-rooms furnished with princely luxury, the costly paintings, the rich table-services of Chinese porcelain, and the vast chandeliers of rock crystal. The citizen and peasant, to whom the prosperous land supplied the means for an agreeable existence, were praised throughout Europe for their honest, friendly, and cordially hospitable character. The court, surpassing that at Versailles, was the most splendid on the continent. The old and gloomy town of Vienna, with its 50,000 inhabitants, began to assume a new aspect (Figs. 5, 6). Not only did it gain in extent: there arose within the city numerous palaces

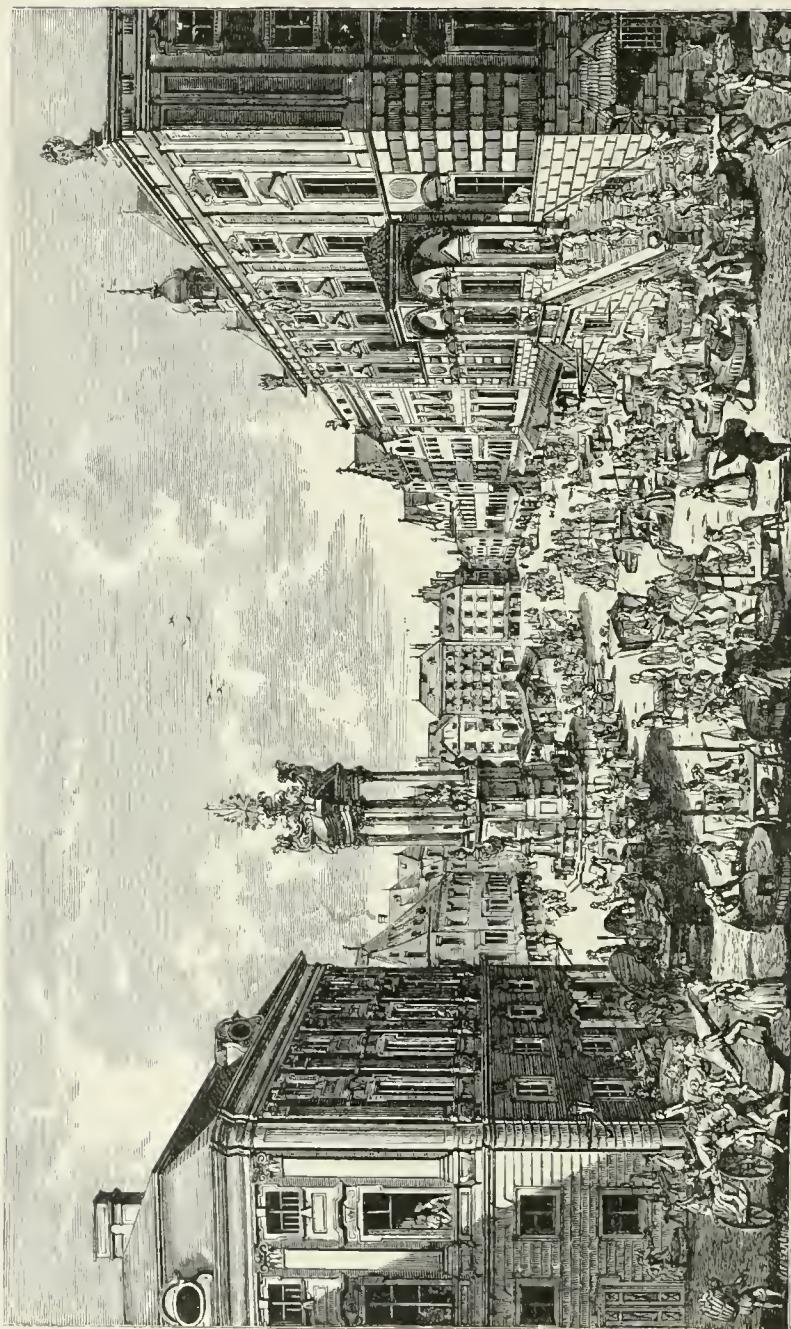


Fig. 4. — The 'Schramme,' or city-assize, in the 'Hohe Markt,' at Vienna, in the beginning of the eighteenth century.  
(After an original by J. Delsenbach, 1719.)

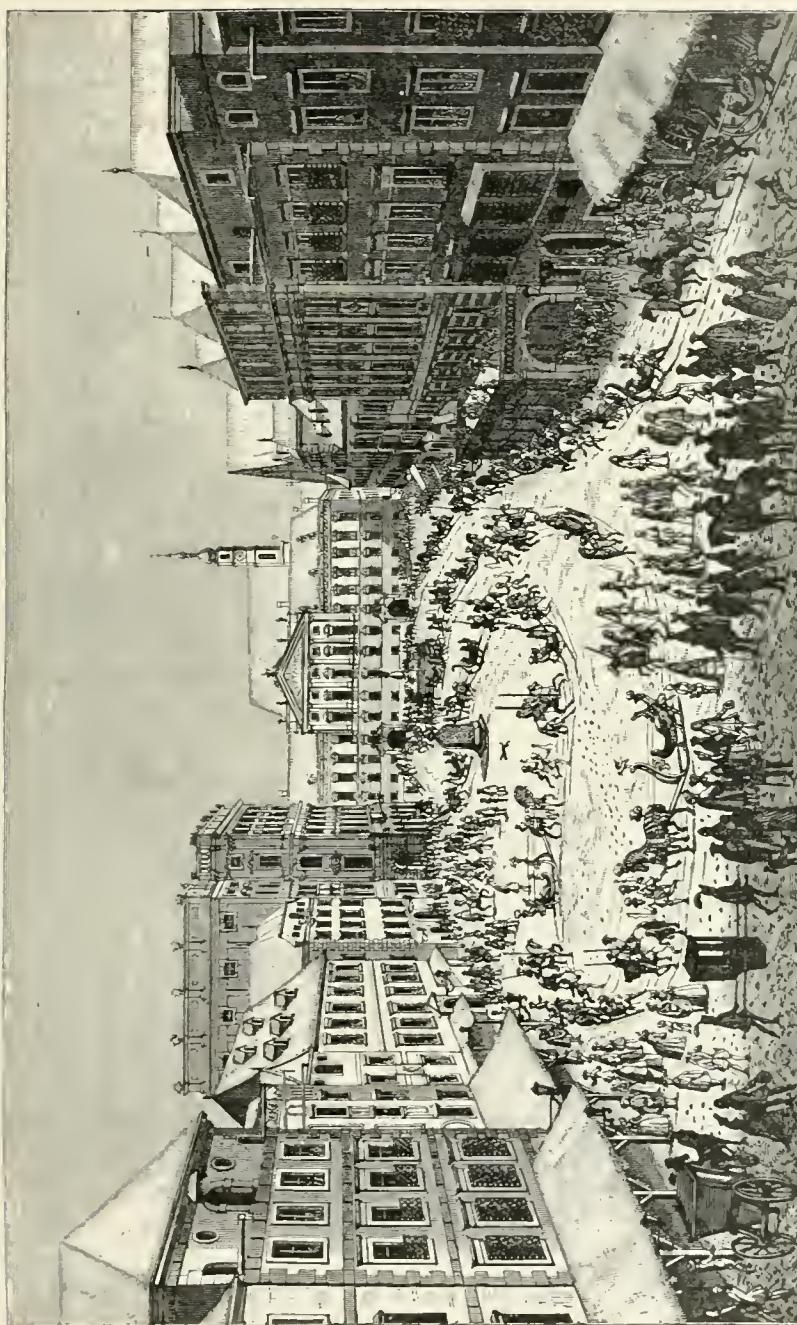


FIG. 5. — The New Market in Vienna, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. (After an original by J. Delsenbach, 1712.)

built in the most elegant style, while outside the walls were continuous rows of delightful villas and pleasure-gardens. Great roads, the construction of which was ordered by the emperor, bound the capital to the provinces, and connected it particularly with Trieste.

Unfortunately the intellectual and national development of the country and the people did not at all keep pace with the material growth. Charles VI. was anxious that the most rigorous and exclusive Catholicism alone should prevail in his German states. In 1734 all Protestant peasants of the archduchy were driven from the land, and obliged to seek refuge in Transylvania. In Silesia, where the Peace of Westphalia, and the stipulations in the Treaty of Altranstädt, secured the Evangelicals against such violent measures, they were still oppressed and injured in every way by the imperial authorities. A result of this intolerant disposition was the arrest of that intellectual movement which spread with great rapidity in Protestant North Germany. Leibnitz, Thomasius, Wolf, and Gottsched found no place in the Austria of that day.

Meanwhile the imperial state remained a federative, feudal, patrimonial state of the Middle Ages. There was no homogeneous constitution, no common law, no uniform administration. The provinces constituted three great groups,—German Austria, Bohemia with Moravia and Silesia, and Hungary with her dependencies. Each one of these groups had its judicial, its administrative, and its military systems, and even its own customs-duties. In common were the reigning house and some departments of the government, as the Chancery of State for Foreign Affairs, the Court Chamber for the Imperial Finances, and the Aulic Council of War for the Army. Between the central and the provincial administrations the official business was extremely vacillating and insecure, the privileges and responsibilities changeable and irregular. These authorities, especially the Spanish Council and the German Conference of Ministers, were continually quarrelling; and, notwithstanding all requests, the emperor could not be induced to put an end to this discord. The consequence was, that all business was in confusion, and was conducted with insufferable slowness. The revenues of the entire state amounted to only 22,000,000 florins, while from Italy almost nothing was received. The entire receipts of those rich provinces were consumed by interest on debts, pensions, and the internal administration. The lower administration lay mostly in the hands of feudal authorities, who had neither interest in nor knowledge of

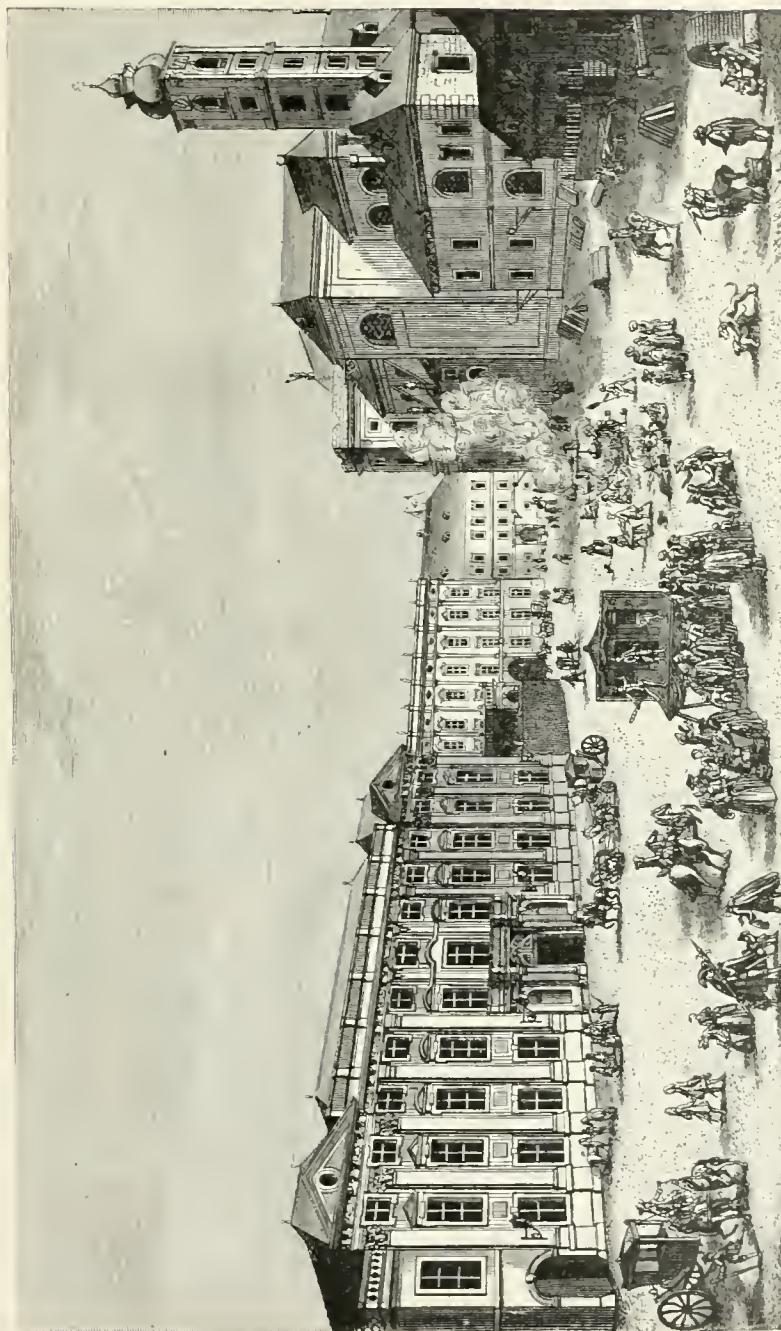


FIG. 6.—The 'Freiung,' or 'Schottenplatz' (i.e., 'Scots' Place) at Vienna, in the beginning of the eighteenth century.  
(After an original by J. Delsenbach, 1719.)

state-business, and, as far as possible, went their own way without much connection with the officials of the empire. The provincial assemblies, from which the inhabitants of cities and peasants had been completely removed, possessed indeed no important influence upon general affairs, but operated in many ways to check the plans of the government, by their right of protest and participation in imposing taxes. In general the government relied by preference upon the high nobility, which had been considerably enlarged and strengthened by the titles of imperial princes and counts. Even in the cities the possessions of the nobles and of the clergy comprised more than three-eighths of the space enclosed by the city walls. For them were reserved all military and higher administrative and judicial offices, and the episcopal sees. They managed public affairs, under and with the reigning princes; they had complete control of their subjects.'

The number of ecclesiastical persons, and particularly of monks and nuns, increased in a frightful manner. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the clergy still exerted an important influence upon affairs of state. Jesuit rule, since the close of the reign of Leopold I., had declined. The ecclesiastical body were contented with the enjoyment of their vast possessions, which made them richer than the contemporaries of their order in Spain, and with the absolute control over the spiritual life of the nation, which they kept in lamentable bondage. Intellectual nourishment was but sparingly dealt out to the people in town and country. Church censorship kept a sharp watch upon everything printed, and even confiscated Bibles. The citizen was obliged to be satisfied with the Gospels, with Father Cochem's production, "Concerning the Last Things," with a history of the saints, and with a fabulous description of his native city. The citizens' singing-schools were closed, and the singing-master silenced. The people were stultified by their material cares. Instruction continued to be still wholly in the hands of the Jesuits.

The army consisted, at least on paper, of 120,000 men. This number, which actually was very seldom reached, would have been of itself an important force; but the effectiveness of such a mass of troops with reference to European relations in general was very much impaired by the circumstance that it was scattered over a large number of provinces. The emperor could never assemble more than 60,000 men for operations in the field.

All endeavors to increase commercial intercourse, to which Charles devoted himself with a predilection worthy of note, but with

little judgment, were frustrated by the aversion of the population to the sea, the inaptitude of officers, and the ignorance of ship-builders and captains.

Under such circumstances, how could the isolated power of even a Eugene of Savoy create anything permanent?

In order to diminish in some measure the crushing burden of debts, the management and extinction of them were intrusted to a bank established by the city of Vienna. For this purpose the receipts from different taxes were handed over to the bank. The bank, by repeated and regular conversions of the rate of interest on the state debt, rendered it possible to reduce the interest gradually from eight to five per cent. The old Comte Gundacker Starhemberg, who conducted the financial administration with almost unlimited power, accomplished for it all that was possible in the prevailing confusion. But Charles VI. wished particularly to restore to the Belgian provinces their old commercial wealth, in order to be able to make use of them as a gold mine, as Charles V. had done before him.

The emperor's representative, the Marquis de Prié, of Piedmont, had been received with great sympathy by the Belgians. But his pride, his thirst for power, his want of trustworthiness, made him soon an object of profound aversion. In Brussels, Antwerp, and Malines commotions occurred, which in the first of these cities gave occasion for the execution of the grayheaded senior of the corporation, Francis Agneessens,—an act of utterly unrighteous severity (1719). The more inclined was the imperial government, by promoting commerce and manufactures, to render the Belgians well-disposed. Antwerp, indeed, the natural harbor of the Southern Netherlands, was condemned to inaction by the stipulated closing of the Schelde. For that reason the imperial government chose the harbor of Ostend, which was adapted to the small vessels of the times. At first, 1715, some Belgian merchants were encouraged to send out ships privately to the East Indies, which returned thence with rich cargoes. Then one of the captains obtained from the nawab of Coromandel the cession of the harbor of Sadatpatnam to the emperor. Finally the emperor (December, 1722) officially established a company, having the exclusive right to trade with the East and West Indies, with a capital of 6,000,000 florins, and with express assurance of imperial protection. This company found an enthusiastic reception among the inhabitants of Belgium. In a few

hours the capital was subscribed, and in fact it made a most prosperous beginning. Its operations brought a rich profit; and shares went up to twice the nominal value. The emperor himself derived from it an impost of no less than six per cent upon its total transactions.

But this East India company at once excited the anger and the jealousy of the maritime powers. Against it England and Holland entered the lists with all their strength.

The United Provinces, it is true, retained only the shadow of their former power. It was of no avail to close the Schelde to check the lifeblood of their southern neighbors; their own commerce and industries, notwithstanding, constantly decreased. Indolence, love of pleasure, indifference with regard to any advance, prevailed. In respect to intellectual matters, also, there was a retrograde movement in Holland. Of the great painters, hardly one had survived the year 1700. The important representatives of statesmanship had disappeared. This backwardness was still further increased by the circumstance that, toward the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century, Holland was not less scourged by the raging fever of speculation than France, and, as we shall see directly, England. In the summer of 1720 there were founded in the United Provinces, within six weeks, thirty stock companies. In a few months the greater part of these swindling enterprises had vanished, leaving behind them a multitude of ruined people. Afterward greater circumspection was consequently exercised in commercial affairs.

And as in commerce, so also in politics, was there stagnation in the republic. Since the death of William III. the stadholdership was discarded, except only in the remote provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Gelderland, where William of Nassau-Dietz was appointed to that office. The more important provinces and the whole republic fell again under the exclusive control of the aristocratic party, which in its policy was entirely devoted to petty family interests, to parsimony, and to peace. Public office seemed only created to provide for the kinsmen of the ruling lords.

Under these circumstances, the opposition of the free Netherlands to the East India Company could hardly have proved very formidable, if it had not received the zealous support of England.

The eighteenth century is in England the period of the absolute predominance of the aristocracy. The English nobility has possessed in the highest degree the ability to gain for itself the favor of the

nation, and thereby an important and trusted political position, and, to a certain extent, has been the representative of the people. Since the rule of the Plantagenet kings, since the commencement of the thirteenth century, the English nobility has not sought, like the nobles of the Continent, prosperity in a slavish subjection to the crown, in order, with the king, to oppress the other classes: but, together with the defence of its own rights, it has also magnanimously undertaken to protect popular freedom against the tyranny of the sovereign. In the Magna Charta, which the Barons extorted from John Lackland in the year 1215, mention is made of the rights of all freemen, as well as of the privileges of the lords. In still another particular English nobles were distinguished from members of their order on the Continent. While there all the sons of a nobleman still belonged to the nobility, in England the rank of a lord was connected with the actual possession of a noble's estate: so that only the heir of such, for the most part only the eldest son of a nobleman, kept the position of a noble lord. The younger sons were absorbed in the mass of the people. On the other hand, never so frequently as in England were brave soldiers, great merchants, distinguished jurists, and eminent statesmen, raised into the ranks of the nobility. Thus we perceive between nobility and gentry, between the nobles and the higher order of citizens, a constant exchange going on, which obviously served to link the two classes together in the closest manner, and to penetrate them mutually with the best blood and the fairest endowment of both. The English nobility has ever felt and fulfilled the obligations imposed upon it by its lofty descent, its political privileges, and its great landed property. It has truly served its country, as well in the small affairs of local administration as in the highest political stations, and in the government of the army and the navy. A hereditary administrative and statesmanlike talent was developed by means of this long experience in public business, which was willingly recognized by the people. The old inherited influence of the aristocracy was not a little augmented by the Revolution of 1688, which was mainly their work. For this reason, also, the majority of their families went over to the Whig, Hanoverian, and decidedly anti-Jacobite party. To this the Upper House remained faithful when the majority of the Commons were Tories. The triumph of the Protestant succession was pre-eminently the triumph of the great noble Whig families. No wonder that they were disposed to use it in their own

favor. It is not to be denied that they committed abuses in this direction. The great excitement of earlier times, when the question of the existence or the destruction of the Protestant faith and of constitutional liberty was in the balance, had disappeared. The victory of the Reformation and of popular representation was decided once for all. There was no longer cause for high political enthusiasm. The high standard of character decayed, and factions and personal considerations prevailed. Consequently, the sway of the aristocracy in England during the eighteenth century was a time of worthless intrigues, of bribery and corruption, and the most insipid and insignificant period in the history of the English constitution. It was a period when the great families were bent on making their gains at the expense of the people. Never has the British nobility occupied so unworthy a position, as, with few exceptions, in the eighteenth century. As a result, it had, at its close, lost ground, and opened a wide door to the inroad of the democracy.

The Whig aristocrats would hardly have been able to maintain their ascendancy without the zealous support of the mercantile and industrial classes. It seemed that with them must stand or fall the entire credit system of the country, the great banks, the re-established East India Company, which had all been developed on the basis of laws passed since the Revolution of 1688. Thus it came about that the mere existence of a Tory ministry brought about a decided fall in the funds. Not only the Jacobites, but also the middle rank of landed proprietors, loudly declared their intention to abolish the Bank of England. As a matter of course, the trading-class now adhered with redoubled enthusiasm to the Whigs.

Finally they found a natural support in the Protestant Dissenters, who had everything to fear from the intolerance of the Tories. Notwithstanding all the efforts of William III. to procure for them absolute equality of rights, they were still excluded from public offices.

Such were the elements that secured supremacy to the Whigs for half a century, although the mass of the people were by a large majority opposed to them. The unpopularity of the Whigs increased with the growing unpopularity of King George I. (PLATE V.). This heavy, coarse, awkward ruler, with his Continental views of the divine right of kings, had a feeling for his Hanover only, and not for England, and regarded his English kingdom altogether as a fat sinecure. Unable to speak one word in the language

PLATE V.



Georgius I

King George I. of England.

From an engraving by John Smith (1651 till after 1727); original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723).

*History of All Nations, Vol. XIV., page 62.*



of his subjects, he became an object of general dislike and disrepect. The people were enraged when they saw him doling out beautiful English gold to his Hanoverian favorites and mistresses. Had he not almost involved England in a war with Sweden, in order to add to his electorate the Swedish provinces of Bremen and Verden? Did not the Hanoverian army exist largely at the expense of England? Not only in the provinces, but also in London, there were illuminations on the anniversary of the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, and William III. and George I. were burnt in effigy.

Thus the monarchy lost all influence; but only the more unrestrainedly the Whig aristocracy exercised control. The wealth of the noble families, of the bankers and great manufacturers, was successfully devoted to buying up votes in the old 'rotten' boroughs. The greatest system of parliamentary corruption was introduced that the world has ever seen. In order to secure to themselves the possession of power for a longer period, the Whigs in 1716 carried through a bill which prolonged the regular duration of every Parliament, extending it from three to seven years. Some time after this 'Septennial Act,' which in any event secured to the Whigs the control of the Lower House till 1722, they made the attempt to gain the Upper House by the Peerage Bill (1719). In this they sought to take from the sovereign the right of adding to the House of Lords more than six new peers. However, this bold and dangerous assault upon the existing constitution was soon given up by the Commons, because public opinion loudly declared itself in opposition.

On the other hand, the situation of affairs abroad afforded not a little aid to the Whigs. The accession of France to the English alliance, the creation of the Quadruple Alliance, the rapid humiliation of Spain, the maintenance of the general peace, the repeated failure of the Jacobite conspiracy, constituted a great victory for the foreign policy of the Whigs, and strengthened their position no less than that of the new dynasty.

The Whigs were so strong that they began to indulge in the luxury of internal divisions, without thereby endangering the supremacy of their party. In the year 1717 Townshend was obliged to give up the government, whose control was assumed by Dubois's friend, Earl Stanhope, a vigilant and just character, a man of ability in military and diplomatic affairs, but wholly unfitted to lead Parlia-

ment or to preside over the finances. His position was at last rendered untenable by the fatal termination of a series of swindling speculations and enterprises, which deeply affected public credit, and profoundly roused public opinion. Law's enterprise was by no means isolated. A burning desire for wealth, acquired hastily and without labor, had seized upon the people.

As, in France, the most exaggerated representations of the inexhaustible riches of the Mississippi were held, so in England with regard to the treasures of Peru. When the bank, then in Whig hands, refused assistance to the Tory ministry in 1711 to consolidate the immense floating debt, the government established a 'South Sea Company,' to which was to be intrusted the monopoly of trade with Spanish America. To allure the public, the ministry entered officially into mysterious promises of exclusive commercial advantages, which, in the Treaty of Utrecht, Spain would be compelled to grant to British merchants. These promises, indeed, found no realization. But since the company was allowed a series of import duties, it could still prosper, and without difficulty assume the floating debt of the state.

Law's project of paying off the funded state debt through his Mississippi bank awakened the desire in England to go forward in a similar operation. The South Sea Company offered to buy up all the national debt, for which the government would have to pay interest, at first five per cent, later only four per cent. When the Bank of England, jealous of the increased importance of the new company, likewise bid for the business, the latter offered the immense sum of £7,500,000 if the transaction should be assigned to it. The state therefore enjoyed the double advantage of a lower rate of interest on its debt than formerly, and also of obtaining not less than \$37,000,000 in cash. As a matter of course the former creditors of the state were left free to be reimbursed in shares of the South Sea Company. They pressed forward eagerly to exchange their good state paper for the speculative paper. The issues of new shares, which became necessary, had an unexampled success. Exchange Alley, where this was transacted, presented scenes similar to those offered in the Rue Quincampoix. People sold whatever they possessed in order to acquire South Sea stock. The directors promised fifty per cent dividends. Thus the shares went up from 130, where they stood in the winter, to a thousand per cent in August, 1720.

The fever of speculation embraced the widest circles. New companies were formed, for the most diverse and the wildest objects. The first nobles of the kingdom, even the heir to the throne, the Prince of Wales, put themselves at the head of such swindling enterprises. There were companies 'for picking up wrecks on the Irish coast,' 'for making salt-water sweet,' 'for preparing oil from the seeds of the sunflower,' 'for the improvement of malt liquors,' 'for extracting silver from lead.' Two hundred stock companies were formed, with a total capital of £300,000,000. The best one was the company 'for an enterprise whose object would be made known at the proper time.' Every one who subscribed two guineas for this should receive one hundred in stock, together with an explanation of the object: and this offer appeared so alluring that there were one thousand subscribers in one forenoon, with whose contributions the promoters naturally ran away in the afternoon.

The disorder was so mischievous that finally the courts interfered. The public began to be uneasy, and to sell. Every one sold out his shares, even those of the South Sea Company, at any price. The news of Law's downfall hastened the process. By the end of September the South Sea shares stood at 175 only, and soon sank to 135. Thousands of families were ruined: tens of thousands lost the best part of their property. Thus ended the 'South Sea Bubble.' All cried out for vengeance, for the punishment of the originators, and especially of the South Sea directors, who were as truly victims of the credulity of the public as the latter was of the speculative madness of the former.

Under these circumstances the dominant Whig party would probably have been driven from power, had not the division of 1717 saved them. That event had thrust a part of the Whig leaders out of the government, and they were now able to come into the places of the badly compromised ministers. At their head stood Robert Walpole, who, made first Lord of the Treasury in 1721, and thus in fact Prime Minister, soon became the only member of weight.

Robert Walpole (Fig. 7) was born in the year 1676. He was descended from a family in the county of Norfolk, belonging to the old nobility, of moderate property, but of decided political influence. Originally destined for the church, he received a learned education, till the death of his elder brother threw him into political life, in which he immediately joined the Whigs. His ambition, his extraordinary faculty for work, his remarkable comprehension of the

affairs of state, his wealth of expedients, his readiness as a speaker, procured for him early admission into the ministry of the party. In the bursting of the 'South Sea Bubble' he was the only one who did not lose his head. He moderated the rigor of the measures undertaken against the directors. Then Walpole sought to restore public credit by saving what could still be saved. From the £7,500,000 promised the state, the company was released; with the money found in their coffers they were acquitted of all obligations, and could still return to the stockholders one-third of their capital.



FIG. 7.—Robert Walpole. (After a drawing in 1715 by G. White, 1671-1734.)

Walpole's firm, quiet, and on the whole beneficent intervention, at this time of passionate excitement, had made him master of the situation; and this position he was able to maintain during twenty years. Without elevation of soul, without original thought, disinclined to every fundamental reform, anxious only to keep the machine in operation and himself in the government, he perverted England's political life in a disgraceful manner, to his own advantage and to that of his party. Not that he was the inventor of

bribery for political purposes, for that had found entrance at the moment when the Lower House became the decisive factor in the life of the state. Already William III. had been obliged to make use of it as an unavoidable evil. But Walpole has perpetuated the wrong of elevating bribery to a place among the chief maxims of government, and making it the keystone of the entire political edifice. With offices, sums of money, and pensions, he bought up regularly a full half of the members of the Lower House. He even bribed the royal family in his favor, by procuring for it an increase of the civil list and opportune national gifts. To him personally no grosser offenses can be imputed ; he enriched himself by no other means than those allowed to every statesman by the moral code of that day, though in part they would now be considered dishonorable. But he made no scruple, not only of profiting by, but of exciting and stimulating, the greed and venality of others. Thus did he morally poison an entire generation of statesmen. It is now the custom to exculpate him by saying he took men just as they were. Nevertheless, it ought not to be forgotten that there are always base passions in human hearts, but that it constitutes a real crime to build the government of a great nation upon them. Neither the predecessors of Walpole, nor his great successors, acted in this manner. Furthermore, he was under no compulsion to deal thus, but did it out of selfishness, and because he felt that in him was wanting the right conferred by genius to rule the destinies of one of the first states of Europe for a quarter of a century. He preferred to corrupt and demoralize public spirit in all directions, in order not to be forced to give up his place as prime minister. He perceived that if at any time a man of great oratorical talent, or of wide statesman-like views, should rise up at his side, such a man must immediately take the controlling power from his hands. For this reason he kept all gifted men at a distance from him and from political power, and ruled by the most despicable bribery.

His deserts in promoting the material welfare of Great Britain ought by no means to be denied. This was the time when the British colonies in North America began first to make a more considerable increase in population and wealth. Ireland, though so near, was also treated like a colony by the English, who saw in it a land which would bring them profit ; the official church, for which even the poorest man must pay, was that of the English Protestant minority, while the worship of the vastly preponderating Catholic majority

was persecuted with open hostility by the government. Constantly were the Catholic ecclesiastics, of all ranks, menaced with the severest penalties, with loss of liberty, and even of life. From time to time regular hunts for the priests were made. But the richly paid Anglican bishops of Ireland had nothing to do, as one of them himself said, "but to eat and drink, grow fat, and die." They and their clergy concerned themselves not in the least with regard to the duties of their position, and resided mostly outside their parishes. School instruction existed only for Protestants. The offer was made to Catholic parents to educate their children for a cultivated and well-qualified citizenship, but on the condition that they should give them up to Protestantism, and should renounce, in general, their parental rights. Nine-tenths of the landed property was taken away from the Irish, and given over to the Scotch and English, who regarded the natives as their worst foes, and in large part spent the incomes of their possessions in foreign countries. The sums irrevocably lost every year to the country by this 'absenteeism' were estimated at one million pounds. But even these lords of the soil were unable to enjoy their property; for English laws, enacted during the period of the Restoration for the protection of cattle-breeding in England, forbade the introduction of all Irish animal products into England. No less was all direct commercial intercourse of Ireland with the colonies prohibited: and the magnificent harbors of the island were rendered desolate and useless. The Irish then turned to the production of wool, and to its manufacture into stuffs. But English industries would not suffer such competition, and a law of 1699 forbade all exportation of woollen cloths from Ireland to any other country. Thus, in a spirit of petty selfishness, was purposely destroyed every source of prosperity for Ireland. This unhappy people were by such means prevented from rising by their efforts from filth and poverty to a condition worthy of the dignity of men. No wonder that among the Protestants of that day, as well as Catholics, those who felt conscious of energy and self-respect emigrated, to seek their fortunes under more favorable circumstances. The best and most capable elements forsook the wretched land, which was falling into a moral and material ruin that became worse and worse. The Catholics went to France, Austria, and Spain, among whose warriors and statesmen they achieved the highest distinction. The Protestant Irish embarked for America in increasing numbers. Thus England herself destroyed the possibility of creating in Ireland a counterpoise to the Catholics.

in a prosperous, patriotic, and aspiring population. To abide longer on the island became an impossibility for the forty-two thousand families which depended on the woollen manufactures. The poverty there was frightful. Half-naked, and sick from hunger, the wretched population lived in huts without chimneys and windows, more like stalls for swine than human dwellings. As soon as grain became dear, thousands and tens of thousands perished from want of food. Whole villages were depopulated. The Irish peasant was in a far worse condition than the serf of the Middle Ages, for he had no right to the soil which he cultivated. At least two-thirds of the products of his labor were handed over to the landlord, who did nothing whatever for him, and might at any moment drive him off at will. Soon this was done over a wide area; for the proprietors of the land found it more advantageous to transform their fields into pasture-land, which could be managed profitably by a few shepherds. The unfortunate population, driven from their cottages, wandered from place to place seeking for a little labor and subsistence, and when forced by hunger accustomed themselves to live as vagabonds, beggars, and thieves. Swift (Fig. 8), who, with a nobleness and persistence that counterbalanced many of his sins, showed himself the defender of his wretched Irish countrymen, published in terrible irony a "Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland from being a Burden to their Parents" (1729): fatten 100,000 Irish children every year, and after one year's feeding kill and sell for roast meat. Can it be wondered at in such circumstances that not only the Catholics, but also the Protestants, regarded England as the hereditary foe of their island, and learned to hate her? It was remarked with astonishment and anger, that numerous descendants of English families went over to the faith and nationality of the down-trodden Irish. Even the soldiers of Cromwell and of William III., who had been settled in Ireland in order to Anglicize it, turned passionate Irishmen.



FIG. 8.—Jonathan Swift. (From a copper-plate engraving by J. F. Bolt, 1769-1836.)

It is true there was in existence an Irish Parliament, but it had not the slightest connection with the will of the vast majority of the Irish people. From the Catholics every active and passive electoral right was withdrawn; hardly less complete was the exclusion of the Protestant Dissenters. The small boroughs were in the hands of the great temporal and spiritual Anglican proprietors. The bishops possessed the greatest influence. And this mutilated Parliament was absolutely dependent upon that of Great Britain, which could reverse every one of its enactments, and, without its assent, pass laws of binding force upon Ireland. Thus it was true that the assembly at Dublin had rather the power of a council than any actual control. The state affairs were turned into fat sinecures for English politicians, who did not take the slightest interest in the island.

The Irish revenged themselves on their oppressors by the only means open to them at that time,—robbery and murder. Armed bands called 'Tories' and also 'Rapparees,' which were favored in every way by the native population, carried on against the 'Saxons' a wild guerilla warfare. They murdered, stole, or levied heavy assessments. With whatever grievous punishments the government proceeded against them, the evils suffered by Ireland were too permanent, and penetrated too deeply, to keep from showing themselves afresh again and again. In many counties of the west, where rough mountains and treacherous bogs rendered communication difficult, perfectly lawless conditions prevailed. In 1711 a regular conspiracy started for the destruction of all cattle belonging to non-Catholics, and was managed with equal skill and energy.

Meanwhile, with the beginning of the eighteenth century, there occurred, at least on one side, a slight improvement in the deplorable conditions. The religious enlightenment which spread more and more in Great Britain moderated in Ireland also the heat of the persecution of the Catholic church. By degrees the penal laws against the Romish worship and the Romish ecclesiastics fell into disuse.

In Scotland, meantime, matters had taken an entirely different shape from affairs in Ireland, since the Act of Union of 1707, which bound Scotland indissolubly to the great neighboring people in the south. No period of Scottish history is so important as the first half of the eighteenth century. Caledonia was transformed from a half barbarous, poor, uneducated, and lawless country, into one highly civilized. At the beginning of the century there reigned in

the Highlands an anarchy worse than that of the Irish Connaught. The population was divided into clans, which recognized no other authority than that of their chief, and liked no other occupation than hunting and robbing. In the Lowlands of Scotland conditions prevailed more conformable to law; but the long wars with England, constant plundering forays of the Highlanders on the one side and of the Borderers on the other, the violent religious persecutions by the Stuarts, the exclusion of all English trade and of English intercourse, kept the people in extreme poverty, in filth, and in intellectual narrowness. Every bad harvest was followed by a famine. The total public revenue of Scotland amounted yearly to not more than 160,000 pounds, at a time when that of England had increased to 5,700,000 pounds.

To the Whig government under George I. and George II. it is owing that the Scotch were elevated from this fearful condition to the first place in the great British realm. Every kind of religious persecution ceased; and the fanatical zeal of the Scotch for their faith assumed a milder and more conciliatory form. And this, again, had a very happy influence upon the political character of the people, formerly so unmanageable, stubborn, and restless. Another measure which in every point of view has been followed by the richest blessings for Scotland co-operated in producing this transformation,—the establishment of common schools in every parish. Since every one possessed the elements of knowledge, the higher classes, in order to maintain superiority, saw themselves compelled to acquire a cultivation of a more solid, even of a learned character. In this respect, according to the unanimous testimony of contemporaries, the Scotch far surpassed their southern neighbors. This was more important, inasmuch as the Union opened to the former competition with the English in all departments of industry and commerce. The advance was instantaneous and astonishing. Glasgow, from which sailed in 1716 the first Scotch ship that ever traversed the ocean, in 1735 already owned sixty-six great trading-vessels, and began to compete with the important English ports. The linen and woollen manufactures received a great development. The surplus production in linen over consumption amounted in 1728 to 2,000,000, but in 1738 to 4,666,000 yards. Thousands from poor Scotland thronged into rich England, pressed into the counting-houses of the great London and Bristol merchants, filled the manufactories of Manchester and Sheffield, and undertook profitable journeys to dis-

tant colonies. The superiority of the educated, persevering, shrewd, and sober Scots was to Englishmen truly an object of fear and envy. So richly were the Scotch compensated for giving up their separate nationality, that within thirty years after the Union they had parted with all animosity toward it.

The series of beneficent measures by means of which the relations of Scotland were fundamentally changed and improved was closed by the introduction of orderly conditions in the Highlands. The establishment of numerous schools, in which the English language and English opinions were taught in those regions, with the aid of a society specially constituted for the purpose, at once exerted a great influence. A network of roads carefully traced out was thrown over mountain tracts hitherto pathless, and contributed remarkably to moral, material, and political civilization. The general disarmament of the clans, long before commanded by the law, could now at last be successfully effected. The nobility, surrounded by troops and threatened with severe punishment if they should exercise independent jurisdiction, chose to move to London in order to sit in the House of Lords, and to obtain offices from government; thus they estranged themselves more and more from their clans.

The chief effort, however, of the English administration, and especially of Walpole, was obviously and properly directed to England. There the Prime Minister pursued a mild and conciliatory policy, which contributed in an extraordinary degree to moderate the passions and hatred of the Revolutionary period, and to draw together the different classes and factions of the population on the common ground of the constitution and the Hanoverian dynasty. He made allowance everywhere for the interests of the landed proprietors, and reduced particularly taxes on the soil to five per cent of the net product. In ecclesiastical affairs he manifested a like friendly and tolerant spirit. The Dissenters were freed from their political and intellectual restrictions. The 'Act of Indemnity,' which was first passed in 1727, and then regularly renewed, made it possible for them, notwithstanding the Test Act, to be admitted to public offices. Their situation in Ireland was essentially improved by the 'Act of Toleration.' The religious scruples cherished by the Quakers with regard to taking any oath were respected by a special law, making an affirmation in their case equivalent to an oath. In the administration of the Anglican Church itself, Walpole favored, on principle, a tolerant latitudinarianism. In foreign polities he

completely abandoned the exclusively Protestant point of view, and formed alliances not less with Catholic powers than with those of kindred faith. From being the most intractable, discontented, and turbulent people in Europe, the English became the most law-abiding, equable, sagacious, and steadfast European nation.

But Walpole was pre-eminently successful in financial management. To liquidate the state debt, which at that time amounted to £54,000,000, he established a sinking-fund out of the savings effected by reducing the interest. Furthermore, his frugality, combined with great dexterity in financial transactions, brought the state budget of England into a splendid condition. Cash was abundant, and at ready command: credit easy, and obtained at reasonable rates: interest, between three and four per cent. The British merchant marine increased every year to the amount of 40,000 tons. From 1708 to 1730 the value of imports rose from £4,700,000 to £7,800,000, and that of exports from £7,000,000 to £12,000,000. Parliamentary rule, liberty, peace, and prosperity, appeared finally as things closely connected one with another.

Under such conditions England, as well as the United Provinces and France, forbade her subjects, under the severest penalties, to participate in any manner whatever in the Ostend trade. English and Dutch officials in the colonies treated the imperial flag with contempt, seizing vessels that sailed under it, and ill-treating their crews.

Finally, the Maritime Powers demanded at Vienna the suppression of the Belgian East India Company, whose existence, they claimed, ran counter to the treaties. In order to establish this point they made up a series of arguments, every one of which seemed more arbitrary and more rash than the other. But the emperor, sustained by public opinion and by the estates of Belgium, turned a deaf ear to all the representations of the Maritime Powers. The company dared to send out ships to India, which brought back excellent profits, and soon it fitted out a whole fleet. Notwithstanding all molestation and losses suffered from the English and Dutch, the company paid annual dividends of twenty to fifty per cent, so that in a short time the capital advanced was completely reimbursed. But the more advantage it reaped, the more envious and dissatisfied did England and Holland become. Their trading-class filled all Europe with their complaints and grievances. It was evident that these states would undertake a war before they

would admit the competition of the commercial people of Flanders, which was constantly increasing in importance. The suppression of the company meant for the emperor not only the inflicting of a serious loss on his subjects, but also the giving them just ground for discontent.

Thus menaced by the Maritime Powers, Charles VI. eagerly sought the alliance of a state with which hitherto he had always lived in enmity; namely, Spain.

King Philip V. (PLATE VI.) and his consort, Elizabeth, had not been satisfied with their accession to the Quadruple Alliance. The former persisted in requiring from England the restoration of Gibraltar and Minorca; and these George I. had, in fact, promised, in 1718, if he would join the alliance. But he could not require the fulfilment of that promise, since the English pointed out with justice that the accession of Spain had been extorted only by the application of open force. Still more hostile was the relation of the Madrid cabinet to Austria. The emperor was determined to prevent Spain, by all the means in his power, from again setting foot in Italy. True, France and England had already, in 1721, summoned a congress to meet at Cambrai to settle this question. But at first Charles VI. did not send plenipotentiaries to it; and when they finally (February, 1722) appeared they raised the greatest difficulties. They actually moved the pope to protest solemnly in advance against any settlement of the question of succession which should be made without his assent. Finally, the emperor also brought forward the rights of the realm, and maintained that he could do nothing without the approval of the diet at Ratisbon. Thus the negotiations at Cambrai dragged on without the least result. Meantime, in October, 1723, the Grand Duke, Cosmo III. of Parma, Tuscany, and Piacenza, who had been so opposed to the Spanish succession, died; and his successor, Giovanni Gastone, the last of the Medici, was an ineapable prince, and given up to the worst vices, from whom successors could not be expected. The impatience of the Spaniards was ever on the increase.

Then occurred — to their advantage — the death of the Duke of Orleans, and his replacement by the Duke of Bourbon. This prince, who, from hostility to the House of Orleans, sought a close alliance with Philip V., gave the imperialists at once to understand that the French ambassadors would leave Cambrai, making them responsible for breaking off the negotiations, if Austria did not promise the



Philip V. of Spain.

Original painting by Louis Michel van Loo (1707-1771).

From a copper-plate engraving, of which G. F. Schmidt (1712-1775) made the face, and J. G. Wille (1715-1809) the other parts of the portrait. The author of the composition and engraving of the frame is unknown.



immediate acknowledgment of the Spanish succession in the duchies. Thus Charles VI. was forced to submit on this question.

To the astonishment of all, it was reported that King Philip V. had resigned his crown, on January 10, 1724, in favor of his eldest son, Louis I., scarcely seventeen years of age.

For some months Philip had lived secluded in the castle of La Granja, without conferring with his councillors. Finally, he preferred to live in his magnificent creation, the castle of San Ildefonso, entirely devoted to comfort, surrounded with all that was splendid, and given up to his favorite diversion, hunting.

This determination of Philip V. was highly displeasing to the Duke of Bourbon, since it threatened to deprive him of his best ally against the House of Orleans. But the duke was as stubborn and petty as he was narrow and ignorant. For him there were only personal questions; general interests he did not understand. He had but one thought.—to prevent the descendants of Orleans from ruling after the death of the feeble king. Meanwhile, he persecuted the Protestants, to whom the regent had been at one time at least comparatively tolerant; and the provisions of the edicts issued against the unfortunate Reformed Church were made more severe. It is easily conceived that the government also directed new but ineffectual persecutions against the Jansenists. At the same time Marshal de Tessé was despatched to Spain on a double mission: he was to persuade Philip V. to resume the government, and thereby induce the royal house of Spain to renew its claim to the hereditary succession in France. Tessé failed in both objects.

Young Louis I. proceeded to rule nominally, but in fact he took very little interest in public affairs. His absolute power was a source of much pleasure to him, while he enjoyed himself in various boyish pranks. In the meantime his consort, Elizabeth of Orleans, gave occasion to still worse reports. This wife, fifteen years of age, doubtless suffered, like all of the regent's daughters, from a kind of family madness. She behaved with a frivolity which was in striking contrast with the strict etiquette and the court traditions of Spain. Suddenly the king ordered the arrest of his consort. He freed her again in a few days; but since he had caused the occurrence to be officially indicated to all the courts, the position of Elizabeth was made altogether unendurable.

Elizabeth Farnese, the stepmother, profited by the follies of the young royal pair in order to take the actual government upon her-

self. The ministers proceeded afterward, as before, to act pursuant to orders that came to them from the queen-mother. Sometimes Louis I. resisted this influence, and then there occurred angry strifes between the new and the old court.

This tragi-comedy was brought to an end when Louis became suddenly very ill with the small-pox, and died, August 31, 1724. In his will he had returned the crown to his father. Philip hesitated for a long time whether he should resume it, but was finally persuaded to do so by Elizabeth Farnese and Tessé. Philip sacrificed himself at last, as he said, to the welfare of his people, and nominally again took possession of the government. Tessé immediately brought before him his second commission. He might now avail himself again of his claims to the French crown. Philip, who had at first no desire for fresh warlike adventure, altogether rejected the offer. Upon this refusal Tessé employed the threat that under such circumstances the marriage of Louis XV. with the youthful infanta would not be effected; since for the purpose of preventing the succession of the Orleans family it would be desirable to have descendants of the king very soon, and that would be impossible in consideration of the childish age of Maria Anna. Philip returned a dry answer to such brutal overtures, and renounced responsibility for all proceedings of the French government.

The negative decision of the monarch greatly enraged Bourbon. His mistress, the Marchioness of Prié, whose husband the Spanish court had not been willing to invest with the dignity of grandee, confirmed him in his resolution of sending back Maria Anna. In March, 1725, the infanta was sent back to Spain without any previous intimation whatever.

Such an inconsiderate insult violently excited the national pride of Spain. Only with difficulty could the populace of Madrid be restrained from massacring all Frenchmen in the city. Elizabeth, who was so ambitious for her children, could not restrain her anger. All the blood of Spain would not suffice to wash out such an insult. The least that could be done was to send back to France the widow of King Louis I., and the bride of the Infant Charles. Elizabeth desired to take revenge on France, as well as on England, who had coolly rejected her proposals for an alliance against Versailles.

The Spanish population was exhausted to such an extent, its intellectual endowment sunk so low, that it had been necessary for a quarter of a century to commit to foreigners the direction of na-

tional affairs. After the Princess Orsini, after Orry and Alberoni, the Marquis Grimaldi, born in Biscay, but of Neapolitan descent, had filled the post of leading statesman. But he was soon supplanted by another foreigner, an adventurer like Alberoni. This was John William, Baron Ripperda, a Dutchman from Groningen, who had been Dutch ambassador at Madrid. When Alberoni became prime minister, his friend concluded to imitate him, laid down his office as Dutch ambassador, passed over to Catholicism without hesitation, and obtained the appointment of superintendent of manufactures. The queen was drawn to him by her kindred spirit. To her he proposed, in opposition to the former uniform policy of Spain, an alliance with the emperor, who certainly was able to place the prospect of a splendid future before the sons of Elizabeth Farnese.

The emperor, Charles VI., had by his consort, the beautiful Elizabeth of Brunswick, only three daughters,—Maria Theresa (born 1717), Maria Anna, and Maria Amelia. Under these circumstances, according to the Family Compact of 1703, the female descendants of Joseph I. would next have been entitled to the succession. But Charles desired, above all things, to secure the Austro-Hungarian territories to his own children; and in the year 1713 had issued the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, which accorded to his children a right prior to the daughters of Joseph. To procure general acknowledgment of this Pragmatic Sanction was the chief endeavor of his life. The consent of the diets of his royal domains, and of the diet of Hungary, he obtained without difficulty, between the years 1720 and 1724. Not content, he adopted the very dangerous decision to acquire for it also the international guaranty of the expressed consent of all foreign powers. From this Prince Eugene sought in vain to dissuade him, saying that the best guaranty for the succession of Maria Theresa lay in the creation of a full treasury and in the existence of a numerous and well-disciplined army.

The circumstance that Maria Theresa, and her sisters after her, possessed the reversion to the wide dominions of Austro-Hungary, opened before Elizabeth the perspective of securing, by the intermarriage with her sons, those kingdoms, the possession of which was much more important than that of Tuscany and Parma, or even of Naples and Sicily. Scarcely had she again attained to the government by the death of her stepson, Louis, when she entered zealously into Ripperda's proposals, especially since at that time Tessé's

communications gave prospect of a rupture with France. Besides, with the aid of Austria, Spain was not only to combat France, but also England,—to wrest Gibraltar and Minorca from her, and to put an end to her commerce with the Spanish colonies.

Full of great projects, Ripperda went to Vienna, where he arrived in November, 1724. But here at first he met with unexpected difficulties. True, the emperor, who was angry with the maritime powers on account of their hostility to the Belgian East India Company, and who hoped by alliances to get the recognition of his Pragmatic Sanction, was ready for anything; but his judicious counsellors, especially Prince Eugene, warned him against the alliance. Thus nothing was as yet decided when the insult in sending back the infanta from France filled the Spanish royal pair with rage. Ripperda received instructions to close with Austria on any conditions. The baron, therefore, dropped the plans of marriage; and now the emperor was ready to come to terms (April 30 and May 1, 1725). An open treaty confirmed all the provisions of the Peace of Utrecht and of the Quadruple Alliance, and also, in particular, the Spanish succession to the Italian duchies, and pledged Spain to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction. A not less public commercial treaty acknowledged the Belgian East Indian Company, and conceded to it, and to the emperor's subjects generally, considerable privileges in Spain and her colonies. But with these there was combined also a secret treaty, which comprehended a defensive alliance.

This was the Treaty of Vienna, whose published stipulations caused at once the greatest sensation. Ripperda, moreover, promised orally to the emperor and his ministers rich subsidies from the seemingly inexhaustible treasuries of Spain. His boundless boasting brought it to pass that the emperor, in the summer of 1725, subscribed to a new treaty, the fourth, in which he actually promised two of his daughters to the two Infants in marriage, as well as his armed support for the capture of Gibraltar. Spain, on the other hand, engaged to pay him annual subsidies to the amount of 3,000,000 florins. This understanding appeared, indeed, to bring the wishes of Elizabeth much nearer fulfilment; but this was only in appearance. The queen desired the marriage of her sons with the two eldest daughters of Charles VI., who would bring as their dower the reversion of the entire Austrian dominions. Yet the emperor in the bottom of his heart was determined not to deliver his hereditary states to the hated House of Bourbon. He was still hoping for a

son, and was in any event determined to marry only the two younger archduchesses to Spain. He did not choose to marry off Maria Theresa, who on the failure of a son was destined to be the sole and exclusive heiress. Meantime both states were certainly full of the greatest projects, and sought only to strengthen themselves by alliances, especially with Russia, which, under the rule of Peter I., appeared as one of the great powers of Europe.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE NORTH OF EUROPE ABOUT THE YEAR 1725.

IT was not easy for Peter the Great to equip his realm with European civilization and the elements of European power. While he was wrestling with the Swedes for the possession of the coasts of the Baltic, which could open and secure to him access to Western Europe, he was obliged to contend at the same time, within his own state, with the vehement and stubborn opposition of all who adhered to the old and the traditional.

The barbarous massacre of the Strelitz had filled the people with horror of ‘the crowned hangman.’ Numberless punishments on account of calumniating the czar were inflicted. The priesthood and the people were specially embittered by the order to cut off their long beards; this was regarded as a direct crime against religion. At last the report spread among the people that the real czar had been thrust into a cask by mutineers, and rolled into the sea; he who now ruled was Anti-Christ. A writer, Grigori Talizky, called on the people to kill this Anti-Christ. Many went about preaching insurrection against the godless sovereign. Government and people mutually threatened each other with violence.

Nevertheless, in Russia there was too great a want of social and political concentration to allow the possibility of a great uprising. It was otherwise among the wild and semi-independent peoples of the Southeast, who were of mixed Tatar blood. In the year 1705 the men of Astrakhan rose up against the new taxes, the worship of idols, and the ‘Germans,’ and murdered the officers. On this occasion Peter really desired to employ mild measures. But it was necessary to take Astrakhan by storm. Four hundred men were executed,—a part of them with frightful tortures. Two years later the Bashkirs rose up; their enemies the Kalmucks were ordered to subdue them. About the same time the Cossacks of the Don broke loose. When Peter sent Prince Dolgoruki with soldiers to enforce the delivery of fugitives, the Cossacks, under the hetman, Kondrati Bulavin, fell upon Dolgoruki’s troops, and cut them down, together

with the princee. Other squadrons sent by the authorities against the insurgents went over to them. Bulavin sent a request to the Sultan for support: it was the time when Charles XII. was pressing the Russian empire from the west (1708). But finally the government troops gained the ascendancy here also. The hetman escaped punishment by suicide. At the price of the lives of unnumbered thousands, peace and submission were again established in these regions.

Then Peter had to learn that a deep-seated opposition to him was growing up from the midst of his family, on the part of one standing nearest his throne and his person.

The Czarevitch Alexis was the offspring of Peter's first marriage with Eudoxia Lapukhin, who, hostile to all innovations, had been banished to a monastery. There she still continued to be the centre of the Old-Russian opposition party, who reckoned upon her and her son. In vain the father sought to lead the spirit of his son into other paths by the aid of German teachers. As his father's duties kept him very much occupied, the ecclesiastics were able to hold the prince in their chains, and to work upon him as well by his mother as by Peter's sister, Maria Alexievna, who hated everything European with passionate bitterness. Alexis really felt the need of cultivation and of reading: but he threw himself upon theology and scholastic subtleties, such as the Russian people greatly loved. While his father, by superhuman efforts, and amid continual perils, was raising Russia to the position of the leading Northern Power, and for that end prepared himself unweariedly, Alexis was absorbed like a dreamer in the lives of the saints and in church history.

The unfortunate young man acknowledged to his confessor that he desired the death of his father: and the confessor only confirmed him in such thoughts.—“ for we all desire his death, because the people bear such heavy burdens:”— and the hope of every right-minded person rested upon him, the czarevitch (Fig. 9).

Peter sought to engage his son in political and military affairs, but to his chagrin was forced to remark that Alexis ever speedily fell back into dreamy inactivity. Finally the father determined to bring about a complete change in Alexis's manner of life. He sent him to Germany, and married him to the Princess Charlotte of Wolfenbüttel, a sister of the empress (1712). For some months a friendly relation subsisted between Alexis and his wife; but soon he began to hate the ‘German woman,’ and to give himself up more and more

to dissipation. Fortunately for the young princess, she died, in 1715, immediately after the birth of a boy, the future emperor Peter II.

The next day after the burial of Charlotte, Catharine, the second consort of the czar, presented him with a son, Peter. The czar was now free in his position with reference to Alexis, since he had a second heir. He wrote to his first-born demanding that he improve,



FIG. 9.—Czarevitch Alexis Petrovitch. (From G. F. Dinglinger's original painting on enamel, in the Green Vault at Dresden.)

or abandon his right of succeeding to the throne. Alexis replied with the request to be allowed to resign his rights, inasmuch as another would be requisite to govern, rather than a man so 'rotten' as himself. But the czar suspected that the ecclesiastics would persuade him to recall his decision: he wished him actually to reform, or to become a monk. The latter course Alexis declared himself

ready to adopt; but then he profited by a journey of his father abroad, to fly to Vienna (September, 1716). Thus he hoped to place himself and his rights in security until the approaching death of his father, who was frequently ill.

The emperor Charles VI. was put into extreme embarrassment. He was willing neither to deliver up the fugitive to his angry father, nor to displease the czar. He therefore caused Alexis to conceal himself in the fortress of St. Elmo, at Naples. By Peter's order Peter Tolstoi went to St. Elmo, and by threats and promises was able to induce the wretched man to return to Russia. Alexis desired to go far away with his mistress, and live only as a private citizen. On February 3, 1718, he renounced his rights to the throne: and his little half-brother, Peter Petrovitch, was proclaimed heir to the crown.

The czar, who had just returned from a second great European tour, was not satisfied with this withdrawal of Alexis. He therefore made the determination to stifle the threatening opposition with the blood of the friends of Alexis. From the weak czarevitch all that he knew was elicited: the rack did the rest with those denounced by him. They were sent to the rack, impaled, scourged, and dismembered. The former czarina, Eudoxia, and the czarevna, Maria Alexievnna, were held in close custody. Alexis's aversion to his father, and his fixed purpose to overthrow his whole work as soon as he himself should have reached the government, were disclosed. Peter considered that he was compelled to protect not only his wife and his child, but even his state also, against the hostility of Alexis. His son was now put to the rack himself, and by a court of 127 persons sentenced to death as a rebel. The unhappy man died on June 26, 1718, probably a result of the torture. Officially his death was ascribed to apoplexy. The people believed that the czar had killed him with his own hand. Concerning this, notwithstanding all endeavors, no greater certainty has been gained.

In judging Peter's acts one ought not to forget that he had to deal with a people thoroughly barbarous, moved only by sensual impulses, and, at the best, by fanatical superstition. Such a nation could be wrought upon only by drastic and violent measures. In the opposition which he found everywhere, even in those nearest to him, it was natural, since his entire government rested on the basis of the closest centralization, that he should strive to destroy every power beside that of government by the state. Furthermore, no small in-

fluence had been exerted upon his ideas and arrangements by the great Leibnitz, with whom he was in constant intercourse. It cannot be denied that in Peter's fiery zeal he made too great haste in many things, and that in his contempt for historical tradition he admitted much that was violent and unnatural into the structures which he reared.

The strongest opposition to his innovations he had ever found in the clergy. He endeavored, therefore, to render them harmless by subjecting them absolutely to the power of the state. For this purpose he wholly suppressed the dignity of patriarch in the year 1700, and thereby deprived the Russian church of its ecclesiastical head. He substituted for the patriarchate an authority dependent on the czar alone, and thoroughly imbued with a worldly spirit,—“the most holy directing synod,”—to which not only ecclesiastics were summoned, but also officers of state. Then the entire church was to be subjected to a comprehensive reform. Inspired by the czar, the free-thinking metropolitan of Pskoff, Feofan Prokopovitch, worked out the so-called ‘ecclesiastical regulations.’ These condemned all worldly power on the part of the clergy, and prescribed the rules for the management of seminaries in which every ecclesiastic should be made acquainted with at least the elements of knowledge, and should be trained to a moral life, and the right fulfilment of his pastoral duties. The monasteries were organized anew. In this manner, by the action of Peter, there arose, in the Russian ecclesiastical body, a reforming party, which, like the German Protestants, adopted almost modern rationalistic opinions. To all foreigners was secured freedom in the exercise of religion. But enlightened though Peter was personally, he vigorously opposed from political motives the Raskolniks or native sectaries. The whole church was to be regarded and treated precisely as a state institution.

Like the clergy, the old nobility had opposed the reforms of Peter. He consequently deprived the nobility by birth of all claims to the service of the state. For such offices only fitness and official training was to afford advancement. The official world was divided into fourteen classes—the ‘Tehin’—of which the first eight, and all military offices from that of the staff-officer on, invested their holders with hereditary nobility. As the privileges of the latter remained the right to establish primogeniture, to possess serfs, and to be exempted from the capitation tax; but for this, every nobleman must serve in the army or in the civil administration. With the

old surviving nobility the council of the boyars ceased to exist. In its place Peter, by Leibnitz's advice, established, in the year 1711, a new official body, the senate, which was called to discharge the most important and comprehensive functions. This body was at first appointed to supervise the entire judicial system and the administration, concerning whose acts it was required to make regular reports to the czar. But to it were also intrusted the functions of a council of state, it being commissioned by the czar to elaborate contemplated laws, 'ukases,' and to lay them before him for a final decision. It was an arrangement which not only relieved the czar in public affairs, but was intended to cause a certain stability and substantial uniformity in the internal administration of the realm, and to avert the evils of an absolute, personal rule. For individual branches of the administration, colleges again were instituted; and these colleges, nine in number, were subordinated only to the czar and the senate. Many foreigners, better supplied with technical knowledge than the Russians, were appointed to such places.

These central boards were designed to correct the hereditary faults of previous Russian administrations. The whole empire was divided into ten governments, which again fell into forty-three provinces; the former controlled each by a governor, the latter by a voivode. However, the dishonesty, indolence, and dissensions of the officials, from the highest to the lowest, paralyzed all advantageous action of the new authorities. It was once more made apparent how little the utmost energy of an individual personality, however powerful and gifted he may be, can accomplish in removing national evils handed down from ancient times.

The creative activity of the czar extended also to the burgher class. The inhabitants of the cities he divided into three classes: the first guild, to which great merchants, physicians, and artists belonged; the second comprised the shop-keepers; and the third, the day laborers and mechanics of every description. The special city magistrate was chosen by the first guild, yet every class had its own elders or starosts. The free peasants fell likewise into several classes; besides these, there were the serfs, of whom those on royal domains were the most favored. A serf who had learned a trade could, however, purchase his freedom for fifty roubles. The foreigners, whom Peter desired to bring into the country in great numbers, enjoyed in every respect considerable privileges.

The criminal jurisprudence was Draconian, especially where political affairs were in question. Seditious persons were hung; whoever took up arms against the czar was quartered; even for literary attacks on the czar, the punishment was the axe. Whoever undertook the least thing against public order incurred the loss of property, and, in general, of all civil rights. It was enjoined upon the clergy to report immediately all purposed attempts on the imperial family communicated to them in confession.

The civil law was subjected by the indefatigable prince to a complete revision, and the different courts were organized in the best manner.

Without doubt Peter was the creator of the Russian army, whose entire internal organization, as well as the arrangement of officers' grades, was borrowed from the Germans. And no less than the regular army does the Russian navy owe its origin to the great czar. Its prodigious growth to forty-eight ships of the line, with about eight hundred smaller vessels, and a total equipment of twenty-eight thousand men, excited the astonishment of Europe. The navy was organized on the model of the Dutch, who were still regarded as the first maritime people of the world.

“Money is the artery of war,” Peter the Great was accustomed to say; and he laid heavy imposts on his people. The revenues of the crown never exceeded ten million roubles, of which at least two-thirds were applied to the army and navy, the remainder to the salaries of officials. Certainly the employees derived, in addition, considerable receipts in kind from the subjects. The czar himself was contented with a very modest civil list of fifty thousand roubles yearly.

In the domain of political economy Peter was an absolute adherent of the mercantile system, and of the supervision of trade by the state. For the Russian people of that day, this was certainly better fitted than for the French or the Germans. The czar was the first forester of Russia; and by stringent laws he put an end to the barbarous destruction of trees, and had forests planted. At great expense, “in order not to pay out so much money abroad,” foreign manufactures were established in Russia, and the effort undertaken to develop the inexhaustible riches of the land in metals, minerals, and dyestuffs. Meanwhile, a few only of these industries, as, for instance, linen manufactures, experienced a satisfactory growth. Upon the whole, the intelligence and the capability, as well as the

capital possessed by the people, were not developed to a satisfactory extent; and means of communication between the different parts of the country were so meagre that the main industries of Russia did not make the desired progress. Peter laid the foundation for an extended system of canals, but the time failed him to accomplish it in a comprehensive manner. He came forward himself with a good example, in urging speculations and far-reaching commercial enterprises: he established consulships in foreign ports, and chambers of commerce in the interior of Russia, and ordered price-lists to be published of the wares and merchandise in the different and most important European markets. But his attempt to set commerce on a sure footing failed. The Russian trading-class, on account of their rude habits of drinking and their unbounded cheating, excited the derision and the aversion of foreign peoples. Such failure explained in good part the exasperated mood in which Peter was accustomed to deal with his own people.

He extended special favor to traffic by sea, and deserves the greatest praise for having opened the Baltic to Russia. Favored and furthered above others was St. Petersburg, for whose defence he had constructed, as early as 1703, the strong fortress of Kronstadt, on the island at the mouth of the Neva. The city of St. Petersburg was founded by forced labor. When the swamps had been filled by this means, the high nobility, officials, and ecclesiastics, were commanded, on penalty of the confiscation of their possessions, to build houses of stone for themselves on that spot. The residences of the highest authorities of the realm were also transferred to St. Petersburg. The most considerable members of the trading-class at Archangel were obliged to settle in the capital, and it was made the exclusive emporium for the most important staple articles of Russian export.

To secure the results of the new civilization brought into Russia by Peter, a systematic and general plan of education had to be devised. In accordance with the spirit of the eighteenth century, Peter indeed conceived of culture in a thoroughly utilitarian manner: he aimed especially at the development of technical skill, not at the improvement of the intellect and the broadening of the views of men; he wished to provide himself with useful officers and engineers. With a view to this result the courses of instruction were arranged which Peter prescribed for all the provinces, and these the sons of all the officials and nobles were compelled to

attend. In the future the latter, if they could neither read nor write, and were unable to express themselves with ease in a foreign language, were to be deprived of hereditary privileges. Scholars were brought in from foreign countries, and libraries were founded. As the administration had its directing authority in the senate, and the church in its synod, in like manner instruction was controlled by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. But what connection could exist between the poor technical schools, which represented substantially the entire popular education of Russia, and a scientific institute of so high an order? In intellectual regards, Russia still derived the greatest benefits from the many hundreds of young men whom Peter sent to the Western states to be educated.

But the czar extended his educational activity to adults also. He desired to introduce among his people, and especially the higher classes, the more refined customs and the elegant social life of the Western nations. Above all the czar sought to draw the women, who had hitherto lived apart and secluded in the Oriental manner, into the society of men. His great dignitaries and favorites were required to take the lead in giving mixed 'assemblies'; and Peter, his wife and daughters, participated freely in them all. Still, among the finely-dressed lords and ladies of these fêtes, there was not a little rudeness; but they prepared the way for the refined and intellectual society developed at St. Petersburg a half century later; and, what was more important, the wife was raised from bondage and neglect to a condition possessing equality of rights with men.

During all these cares in aiming to accomplish the internal improvement of Russia, the czar was also unremittingly intent on extending the bounds and the influence of his realm. It was he especially who initiated the direction of Russian policy toward an expansion in Central Asia. Making use of the pretext afforded by the robberies which some Persian nomads had committed, Peter waged war, in the years 1722 and 1723, with Persia, and acquired the provinces of Derbent, Baku, Ghilan, Mazandaran, and Astrabad, comprising the entire southern and southwestern coast of the Caspian Sea. He gave immediate attention to the military security and industrial improvement of the newly conquered territory. From this time on Peter assumed, instead of the title of the Czar of Muscovy, that of 'Emperor of Russia.' It is true he was able to obtain for his new title recognition from Prussia and Holland alone. Peter had to leave it to his successors, by their active participation in the destinies

of Europe, to force the other states to acknowledge the title which he claimed.

If one desires to reach a just decision concerning the entire career of Peter the Great, the fact must not be overlooked that he found neither intelligence in his people, nor fidelity, honesty, and sagacity in the majority of his officials. The unspeakable difficulties



FIG. 10.—Gordon. Original in the gallery of Peter the Great, in the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg.

which every one of his steps cost him explain as well his exasperated and fierce moods, as the small effects produced by many of his measures.

The earliest and most trusted helpers of Peter the Great were foreigners, like Gordon the Scot (Fig. 10) and Lefort of Geneva (Fig. 11); later the Germans, Ostermann and Münnich, came to his side, and rendered the greatest services to Russia; he also had natives about him. A few only retained the czar's confidence to the



FIG. 11.—Francis Lefort. (From a picture painted in Holland in 1698.)

end of his life. This did Tatischeff, a man universally cultivated, active, laborious, at one and the same time officer, financier, superintendent of mines, diplomatist, and author. But no one stood so near the czar as Alexander Danilovitch Menshikoff. The son of a groom, this handsome, stately young man entered the Guards, where he distinguished himself by bravery and intelligence of such an order that he attracted the attention of Lefort, and captivated him. The Genevan himself became the teacher of Menshikoff, and commended him to the czar, whose good will he won and permanently retained by his spirit, knowledge of men, natural eloquence, industry, and martial bravery. After Lefort's death (1699), Menshikoff became the czar's trusted favorite. His boundless avarice often excited the anger of the czar, but he continued to pardon him again and again, and loaded him with honors and dignities: partly because he honestly loved the enlightened and zealous fellow-laborer, and partly in consequence of the mediation and urgent representations of Menshikoff's loyal friend, the Empress Catharine.

This remarkable woman was, like Menshikoff, of the lowest origin. She was descended from a family of Lithuanian peasants, which had settled in Livonia. Martha Skavronski, born in 1684, was brought up at Marienburg by Glück, a Lutheran minister, in his faith, without, however, having received even the elements of other instruction. Her fortunes during the Russo-Swedish war have been much embellished by legend. It is known, however, that she had passed through many hands, before Peter in 1702 came to know her in Menshikoff's house, and on his recommendation made her his mistress. She went over to the Greek faith, succeeded in completely gaining the czar's favor, proving herself his counsellor, his intelligent and cheerful friend, and taking good heed not to go counter to his excesses in the least degree. She became so indispensable to him, that in 1711 he formally married this Lithuanian peasant, and in 1724 crowned her as empress.

A few months later, on January 28 (February 8), 1725, Peter died, aged only fifty-three years.

In all history there has probably lived no reformer who has influenced with such decided power, not only the outward fortunes, but even the innermost form and life of his people as Peter the Great (Fig. 12). For their entire future he marked out for them new paths in advance. In him all was gigantic,—his vices as well as his genius and his activity. But the first could be productive only

of transient injuries, while the latter have become a blessing to Russia. Much was artificial and anti-national in his constructions, but only for the moment; for later, as his people matured, that which at first seemed perverse and unnatural showed itself as wise and well adapted, and ultimately bore good fruit. One must not be



FIG. 12. — Peter the Great, taken from his death-mask. (From a copper-plate engraving in the Public Library at St. Petersburg.)

led astray by the indisputable fact that his action, as far as it concerned the inner development of his people, has become fully effective only in our century. During the first decade after his death, the conditions of the popular mind of Russia plainly exhibited all those evil manifestations which are inseparably connected with the

transitional epochs in the history of culture. The sudden reforms had transplanted to a barbarous country the evil propensities and temptations of a civilization at that time highly demoralizing, and Peter's unbridled passions had presented a lamentable example of this. All the received traditional views and customs of the Russians had been disturbed and broken up, while the new continued to be to them something purely external, and were pressed upon them by force. Thus Russian life in the higher ranks presented the form of a barbarism corrupted by all the refinements of modern culture, and overlaid with the varnish of the German and French salon. Finally, the higher classes through their purely foreign education became entirely estranged from the mass of people, who remained in ignorance, as a different sort of beings, and were accordingly maltreated.

A law enacted in the last years of Peter's life granted to the existing sovereign the right of designating his own successor. But Peter had made no use of this prerogative. Peter Petrovitch, his and Catharine's son, had died in very early childhood. His grandson Peter, the child of the unfortunate Alexis, had the legitimate claim to the succession, although still a child. For this very reason the Old Russian party desired his coronation. During his minority they might destroy the works and the favorites of the deceased czar. At once, in order to protect themselves against ruin, the Reform party, with Menshikoff at their head, were obliged to set up another candidate for the throne. That candidate they found in the czarina, Catharine, who by her solemn coronation and anointing appeared to have acquired a title to sovereignty. Although the enemy were much more numerous, yet the Reform party had the power of the government in their hands. Thus, without resistance, the Lithuanian peasant-woman became empress of Russia as Catharine I. (Fig. 13). Determination and native intellect were not wanting in her. Reading and writing, however, she had not learned; her daughter, Elizabeth, was obliged to sign for her.

The actual controlling power was held by the man who from the first had contributed so much to Catharine's greatness, Menshikoff. Nevertheless, it was now that he exhibited all the evil traits of his character. Instead of continuing Peter's work of reform, he was intent upon nothing but maintaining and enlarging his personal power. He abused it in every way, and persecuted with infamous cruelty all those whom he imagined he ought to fear. It was a

party government of the basest kind, without any true sense for the creations of the genius of Peter the Great. The court and the empress occupied themselves only with rude revels and incessant cabals and intrigues.



FIG. 13.—Catharine I. (Original painting in the Romanoff Gallery, in the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg.)

Only in one respect did the empress make her will prevail against the wishes of Menshikoff. Her beautiful daughter, Anna Petrovna, was married to the Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp. But this prince could not endure it that by the Swedish-Danish peace of 1720 the Gottorp portion of Schleswig had been yielded to Denmark;

and in his desire to regain the same he found powerful aid in his mother-in-law, the czarina. He demanded officially from Denmark the restoration of his dominions in Schleswig. A Russian fleet appeared in the Baltic to give emphasis to this demand.

In Denmark at this time Frederick IV. (1699-1730) was still the sovereign. He was a mild and well-intentioned prince, who made his people prosperous. Under him began the splendid rise of the Danish national literature, with Ludvig von Holberg (1684-1754), a native of Bergen, in Norway. From poverty and destitution, by great talent and diligent labor, Holberg rose to be the admired favorite of the nation. In the comic-heroic poem "*Peder Paars*," in his satirical romance, "*Niels Klim's Underground Journey*," and especially in his comedies, he has depicted in typical forms, with keen powers of observation, vivid, forcible humor, dry wit, and original talent in description, the life of the middle classes of his time. Moreover, he attained respectable rank as a historian. He was the founder of a school of purely national writers. Meantime the king had furthered the political and social circumstances of the Danish people in the most judicious and successful manner. He had abolished the personal serfdom of the peasant, who, however, still continued bound to the soil. He zealously endeavored to increase the military strength of his little kingdom. He had established a system of rural soldiery, which, without any great financial sacrifice on the part of the state, made an important increase of its defensive ability. Against the threatened violence of Russia he appealed to England for aid, and she sent for his protection a fleet, superior to the Russian, to join the Danish ships-of-war in the Baltic Sea.

Highly indignant at this participation by England, Russia sought support from England's enemies. Catharine I. now renewed the efforts for alliance with Austria. That country, on the point of falling out with the maritime powers and France, gladly entered into the agreement. The czarina and Charles VI. concluded a treaty of alliance of a defensive nature. Meanwhile, to fill the empty coffers of the emperor, considerable sums of money went from St. Petersburg to Vienna.

Thus the Treaties of Vienna were constantly gaining increased significance. Elizabeth Farnese was thrown into a state of proud excitement by these occurrences. She now planned nothing less than measures to accomplish the immediate outbreak of hostilities, in order to raise Spain once more to the position of the first power in

Europe. Her secretary of state, Grimaldo, was required to demand officially from the English ambassador, Stanhope, the immediate restoration of Gibraltar. As a matter of course this request was coldly rejected. Desirous of peace though Walpole was, he was himself obliged to look around for allies. He was sure of France; he succeeded in winning over Prussia.

Posterity has done scant justice to Frederick William I., the king of Prussia at that time. Till recently he was thought of as a half-mad, flogging, and swearing despot; a common corporal, whose chief occupation was drilling the 'long fellows' of Potsdam; a tyrant over his subjects, and a tyrant in his family. It is a merit of the most recent histories to have presented a proper estimate of this hard and coarse-grained but honest, upright, and intelligent prince. They take their starting-point from his great son himself, who has summed up the description of that government in the words: "If it is truly said that one is indebted for the shade of the oak which covers us to the strength of the acorn that produced it, then all the world must agree that in the laborious life of this prince, and the wise measures which he seized upon, one finds the foundation of that development of power enjoyed by his house after his death." How different was the country which Frederick William left from that which he found on his accession to the throne. Instead of the bankruptcy which threatened Prussian finances at the death of his frivolous predecessor, there was a treasure of 10,000,000 thalers: instead of less than 2,000,000 of subjects, more than 2,500,000: instead of 38,000, more than 80,000 soldiers: instead of a loose and unprincipled body of officials, one excellent, strongly united, and faithful. If Frederick William I. had no other merit than to have levelled the way for Frederick II., that alone would in truth have sufficed for his fame. Without this heritage Frederick II. could not have dared with his small state (according to population but the thirteenth in Europe) to attack Austria, which was ten times stronger.

Upon three things reposes the greatness of Prussia: upon a numerous, admirably organized army, absolutely devoted to the king, and yet an army of the people; upon her careful, prudent, and frugal administration of finance; and upon the universal education of her citizens. Of all three of these things Frederick William was the originator.

This uncultivated, but practical and clear-seeing prince, in the year 1717 introduced compulsory attendance at school throughout



füllt klein fall  
was wir von Siebten sind  
füllen Siebten füllt Siebten  
der Gott und ein Paulus  
Schriftur allzeit ehn mir haben  
und uns selber verschwendet sehr  
in Künsten ist kein ehemaliger  
Lehrer mehr als mir. Siebten und  
Siebten Leiter und Lehrer und  
Schriftur der armen Leute und  
Lehrer von mir. Siebten und Lehrer  
der armen Leute und Lehrer  
und Lehrer der armen Leute und Lehrer  
die sich in Sachen bewegen. Siebten  
und Lehrer Siebten und Lehrer  
und Lehrer Siebten und Lehrer  
und Lehrer Siebten und Lehrer

PLATE VII. FACSIMILE OF THE CONCLUSION OF FREDERICK  
WILLIAM I. S AUTOGRAPH INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE GENERAL  
DIRECTORY. Original size Berlin, Royal Privy State Archives.)

his state. In the single province of East Prussia he established eleven hundred schools. Compulsory education and universal instruction distinguished Prussia at that time from all Europe, and soon made her the intellectual leader of Germany.

Yet more important, perhaps, was the new arrangement of the administration, to which this king was the first to give a uniform shape. Till then the entire administration of the government had a twofold division. On the one side were the central administration of the royal domains, the directory of finance, with the chambers of the domains in the several provinces; on the other, the general war-commissariat, which managed the raising of the taxes necessary for the army, the indirect taxes in the cities, and direct taxes on land in the country. The directory of finance represented the king as the great landed proprietor; the war-commissariat represented him as the sovereign of the whole country. No wonder that the interests of the two boards came into hostile collision. Consequently it was of the highest importance that in January, 1723, the king combined the contending authorities, establishing in Berlin, as the central board, 'the General Directory of finance, of war, and of the domains,' and in every province a chamber of war and of domains. Not till then was it possible to have a uniform administration throughout, embracing all the interests of the state. But this king, decried as barbarous and tyrannical, prescribed for the General Directory (PLATE VII.<sup>1</sup>), not only 'the advantage and best good of his royal majesty,' but also 'the promotion of the prosperity of the sub-

<sup>2</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

Faecsimile of the conclusion of Frederick William I.'s autograph instructions for the General Directory. Original size. Berlin, Royal Privy State Archives.

TRANSCRIPTION.

tuhl Meier soll auch in der Zuletzte ordre setzen, das ich sie es versicherte vor Gott, das diese Neue verfassung alleine von mir kehme, und ich es selber aufgesetzet hette und keine intrige darunter wehre, nur ich mein beste, der Lender und leutte und befestigung der armée und kron, den ich persuadieret wehre, das durch diese combinacion es festgesetzet werde, woferne sie wolten treue und unferdrossen den stranck zugleich ziehen tuhll Meier soll dieses recht schön aufsetzen.

TRANSLATION.

Thulmeier is also to put in the last order that I assured them before God that this new constitution came from myself alone, that I had drawn it up myself, and that there was no intrigue behind it; that I desired only my welfare and that of the country and the people, and the strengthening of the army and the crown, because I was

jects as well in the country as in the cities.' He himself set out to improve and advance agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

Frederick William knew well that even the most excellent ordinances would remain useless unless care were taken to have them observed; and that care was necessarily doubled under the worn-out, corrupt, and dishonest system which had spread among the Prussian officials during the loose and disjointed government of the first king. He was, therefore, constantly anxious to redress abuses. A rigorous military order was impressed upon the official body, and the king's officials inspected most strictly the courts and chambers. Threats were employed freely, cashiering, imprisonment, and the gallows,—penalties but seldom wholly without cause. A wholesome fear of the never-resting eye of the king pervaded the entire administration; and it was perceived finally that fidelity to duty and industry were the best and truest wisdom. The sovereign constantly travelled through the realm in order to see that public interests were not prejudiced through neglect or dishonesty on the part of officials, and to inspect the condition of the domains and forests. Far more tenderly than now was care taken not to injure the resources of families and the cultivation of the soil by the military system. Independent householders, the eldest or the only sons, miners and the industrial inhabitants of large cities, were exempted from service in the army.

It will always be remembered what was done by this Frederick William I., who deprived himself personally almost of necessities, for the province of Prussia, which was materially and morally laid waste by war, pestilence, famine, and the despotism of the nobles. He there removed the cliques of noble managers, and transformed the provincial courts occupied by noblemen into jurisdictions controlled by judges learned in the law, and replaced the government of the four 'ruling councils' by his chambers. There were installed in Prussia almost none but non-Prussian officers, and in the other provinces scarcely any but Prussian. Then the uniform land-tax was changed into a tax based on the produce of each estate. Mechanics of every description and thousands of peasants were brought in as colonists: various new branches of industry were established; waterways and land-ways were improved and multiplied. Competent

convined that by this combination order would be established, provided they would faithfully and untiringly pull together. Thulmeier is to draw this up very handsomely.

farmers necessarily taught a rational method of agriculture. Thus it came to pass that at the death of Frederick William I., East Prussia numbered 600,000 instead of 440,000 inhabitants. The king and his capable chief president, Charles Henry, Count Truchsess of Waldburg, had rescued them from the verge of moral and economical ruin, from disloyalty to the German nationality, and from oligarchical corruption and maladministration.

Notwithstanding his zealous Protestant convictions, Frederick William granted full religious liberty. To the Evangelicals, who were persecuted on account of their creed, he offered a refuge in his states both for their relief and at the same time for the improvement of Prussian agriculture. About 2000 Bohemians settled in Berlin: the French Huguenots, recently expatriated, came to Königsberg and Stettin: 20,000 Protestants, driven from Salzburg by its archbishop, were received, and filled gaps in the provincial population. Besides these, thousands of mechanics and peasants were invited to the country. In the most important provinces it was estimated that at least one-fifth part of the population was composed of foreigners who had immigrated within forty years.

For the country people in general the king cared in his way, while he never suffered the price of corn to fall below a fixed amount. But he heaped up in favorable years great quantities of grain, which he sold in years of famine without profit. The peasant was supplied with corn for sowing, which he returned after a good harvest. Stringent regulations prohibited the noble landlords from driving dependent peasants from their farms, and from making them cultivate the landlord's property. Relatively Frederick William took care still more of industry and trade than of agriculture: and this, as a matter of course, according to the maxims of the prevailing mercantile system. A rigorous and logical protection, which entirely prohibited the greater part of the products of foreign industry, or laid upon them prohibitory customs-dues, and entirely forbade the exportation of raw material for a time, without doubt rendered possible and facilitated the first establishment of a Prussian industry, in opposition to the far superior competition of foreign countries. The king came effectually to the assistance of the manufacturers, who were as yet inexperienced and had little capital, by advancing money and raw material, by the introduction of foreign models and fabrics, and by giving them government orders. True, industry was obliged to pay for these advantages, by being subjected to rigorous inspec-

tion and constant interference on the part of the authorities. But manufacturing rose in importance; Brandenburg cloths were transported to a distance, and the Russian army made use of them for their equipment. The city population of the Electoral Mark (Brandenburg) more than doubled during Frederick's reign. Berlin alone numbered 70,000 inhabitants, besides 16,000 men in garrison. The cities were, it is true, in great part rural, and even in those of greater size farmers and their day-laborers were not wanting.

The whole country rose visibly in population and as regards the welfare of the inhabitants. This obviously had its effect upon the administration of finance, which, being conducted with rigorous economy and much circumspection, soon brought out splendid results. This king succeeded for the first time in providing for the subsistence of his army without the use of foreign subsidies, but from the revenues of his own state, although under him the army was three times as large as under his grandfather, and twice as large as under Frederick I. He effected this by means of the increase in population and in prosperity, by his financial operations, among which stood first the better distribution of the tax upon land, by raising the stamp-duties, and by the introduction of the system of a general temporary leasing of the domains, which he put in operation in the year 1726. The sovereign's frugality for himself and his attendants finally placed him in a condition to apply the receipts from the domains largely to military purposes. Of the yearly revenue of 7,000,000 thalers, the army required 5,000,000: and as every year a surplus of 800,000 to 900,000 thalers was consigned to the military chest, the army budget amounted substantially to nearly six-sevenths of the state's income. In all, there was saved in the treasury, during the twenty-seven years of the reign of Frederick William I., 18,000,000 thalers,—an astonishing fact with a standing army of four per cent of the population! Besides, new domains were acquired at a cost of 6,000,000 thalers; and for the royal castles heavy utensils were made of solid silver, which was intended less for ostentatious display than for a kind of second treasure in reserve.

The administration proceeded in a manner sufficiently vigorous. The civil officers were placed entirely under military discipline. Ministers and privy counsellors were required to appear for service every morning punctually at seven o'clock.

The royal administration was designed to be omnipotent in the

land. In the city communities only the royal officials had anything to say; and, in their turn, they stood in strict dependence upon the General Directory. As much as Frederick William favored the nobility, considered as the warrior class, nevertheless they were to be rated as of some value only in the service of the crown. In an arbitrary manner he compelled them to give up their feudal rights of property. Indeed, that system had long since become rotten under the utterly changed conditions that followed the Middle Ages. It no longer brought to the lord of the land any profit whatever, and inflicted upon the holders themselves endless vexations and losses. Frederick William determined to transform all feudal estates into estates held in fee simple, and to levy a tax by way of compensation. At first this plan, which seemed to be an assault upon their privilege of exemption from taxation, met with great opposition; but the advantage of such a change was perceived, and was one which already, as in England for example, had been accomplished at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the year 1718 the change was complete, and all parties were satisfied.

When from this source 80,000 thalers were presently received every year, Frederick William rejoiced: for now he was enabled to set on foot two new regiments. The army was still for him the centre of all state interests. On that account the greatest possible centralization was introduced; for that, the taxation of his subjects was increased as far as practicable. Eagerly had he accepted the doctrines of Marlborough, which the English general had impressed on him during the War of the Spanish Succession, that the power of a prince is exactly equal to the number of troops which he is able to maintain. This maxim immediately enlightened the plain understanding of Frederick William, and with the energy peculiar to himself he resolved to sacrifice all show and glitter for the real thing. He and his family, as well as all his functionaries and officers, were obliged to live in Spartan simplicity; but thereby he brought his army gradually up to 83,500 men. The weakness of Prussia, which at a later day was to be made disastrously apparent, consisted only in this, that in the event of too long a war, she had neither the money nor the number of men to keep her army up to its original strength. Furthermore, it was impossible, even in time of peace, to maintain a standing army of such magnitude without resort to raising soldiers in foreign countries, since otherwise the ability of the people to labor would become exhausted. It is known

that in resorting to such aid, especially to recruit the 'long fellows,' violence and deceit were not wanting. But the majority of his soldiers, and the flower of his army, Frederick William (PLATE VIII.) secured by the 'Canton Regulation' of the year 1733, based upon the great and fruitful idea of the universal obligation to bear arms. To be sure, as we have seen, there were numerous exceptions; it resulted in the younger sons of peasants being obliged to enter the service. However, the principle as such was publicly recognized; and the universal obligation to bear arms lay at the foundation of Prussian army arrangements, and was the programme of the future.

With regard to the troops composing his army, the king could not dispense with foreigners; but he sought to nationalize them so that the foreign elements in the officers' corps might be removed as much as possible, and replaced by native inhabitants. In this way, and by the principle of the universal obligation to render military service, was preserved the idea of the national character of the army; it was not the army of the king of Prussia, but the military force of the Prussian people led by their sovereign. It is true, that Frederick William was the first to carry into effect the rule that the corps of officers should be composed of nobles only; but that hardly seemed to be a privilege for the latter at a time when the body of citizens turned from all military affairs. In France, Austria, and England the important superior positions were acquired by purchase, court favor, or high birth; and the generals filled up the subordinate places according to their pleasure. This was not so in the Prussian army (Figs. 14, 15). The king retained in his possession all such appointments, from the ensign up, and promotion occurred exclusively according to competency or merit. In this respect the Prussian army of Frederick William is the first that is truly modern.

Thus we see the ruler everywhere constantly engaged in strengthening his state, and in forming his small and poor dominions into a power that should have something to say in Europe. Every subject, to whatever class he might belong, was drawn into the service. Woe to him who sought to escape those obligations, or was found negligent with regard to them. But, however much sternness and even cruelty Frederick William showed in this matter, he could point to the fact that he surpassed all others in sacrifices for the state. With extraordinary unselfishness he offered the fortune

PLATE VIII.



*FREDERICUS*  
*Rex Borussiae*      *WILHELMUS*  
*Elector Brandenburgensis*

King Frederick William I. of Prussia.

From a copper-plate engraving by J. G. Wolfgang (1664-1748); original painting by  
Antoine Pesne (1684-1757).

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV., page 102.



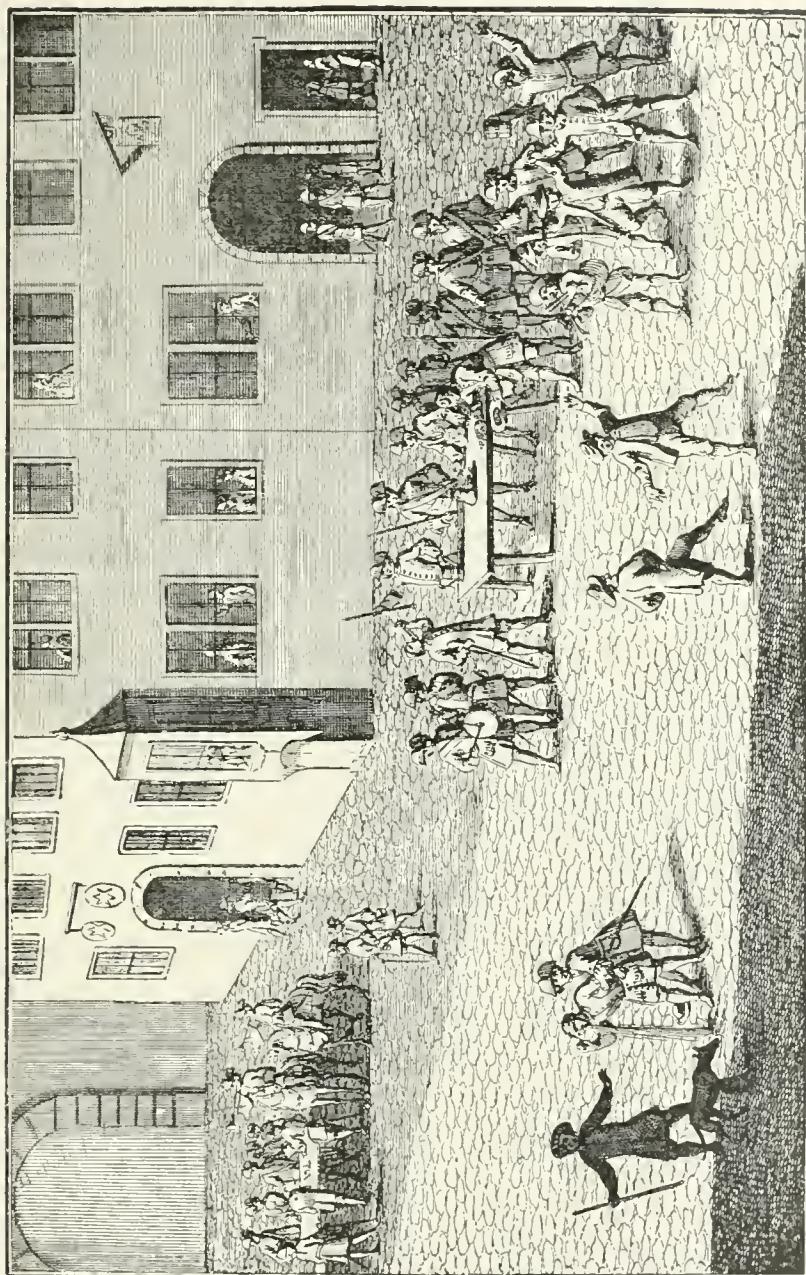


FIG. 14.—Recruiting for military service in the beginning of the eighteenth century. (From von Fleming, "The Complete German Soldier," Leipzig, 1726.)

of his family, and transformed all the king's private estates into public domains. The entire expenditures for the royal house, the court, and the castles, he limited to 102,000 thalers annually.—at a time when Louis XV. spent one-half of the revenues of France on himself, his pleasures, mistresses, and favorites; and when an Augustus the Strong displayed such lavish pomp at the expense of the country, that it was remarked he must have discovered the art of making gold. Frederick William thought that he was only the steward of the public revenues. The personal element which, coming down from the period of the Middle Ages, still prevailed in royalty, he caused to give place instinctively to the idea of the state.

It may be said that the administrative policy of the Prussian state — which was completely wrought out and brought to noble results by Frederick II. — had been already created by his father. The former lifted it up, filled it with life, and, above all, knew how to profit by it; but in all essential points his predecessor had thought it out and established it.

But why was it that both contemporaries and posterity mistook the important qualities of Frederick William, and saw only his worst side? That even in his own family he almost invariably incurred only aversion and opposition? The explanation is not difficult of discovery. His good qualities appeared slowly in their results, and at first were well-nigh indiscernible, while his weaknesses and the harshness of his character were noticed by the dullest vision.

For large enterprises he had no sense. That was evident, as we shall see, in his foreign policy and also in his attitude towards international trade. The Prussian sea-trade during his reign lost ground altogether. The continual regulation, interference, and change of necessity caused important losses: man cannot with impunity seek to disturb or to injure the natural and universal laws of commerce. In Königsberg and Stettin there were loud complaints among the merchants. The high duties in like manner stifled the Elbe trade: in the year 1728 Magdeburg had only seven vessels. Frederick William completely abandoned the transoceanic settlements established by the Great Elector in Africa. Everywhere a compulsory and rough treatment prevailed; the last remains of independence in the provincial magistracy were destroyed. To the king, his own will was the only rule of right, according to which he interfered — and for the most part injuriously — in the course

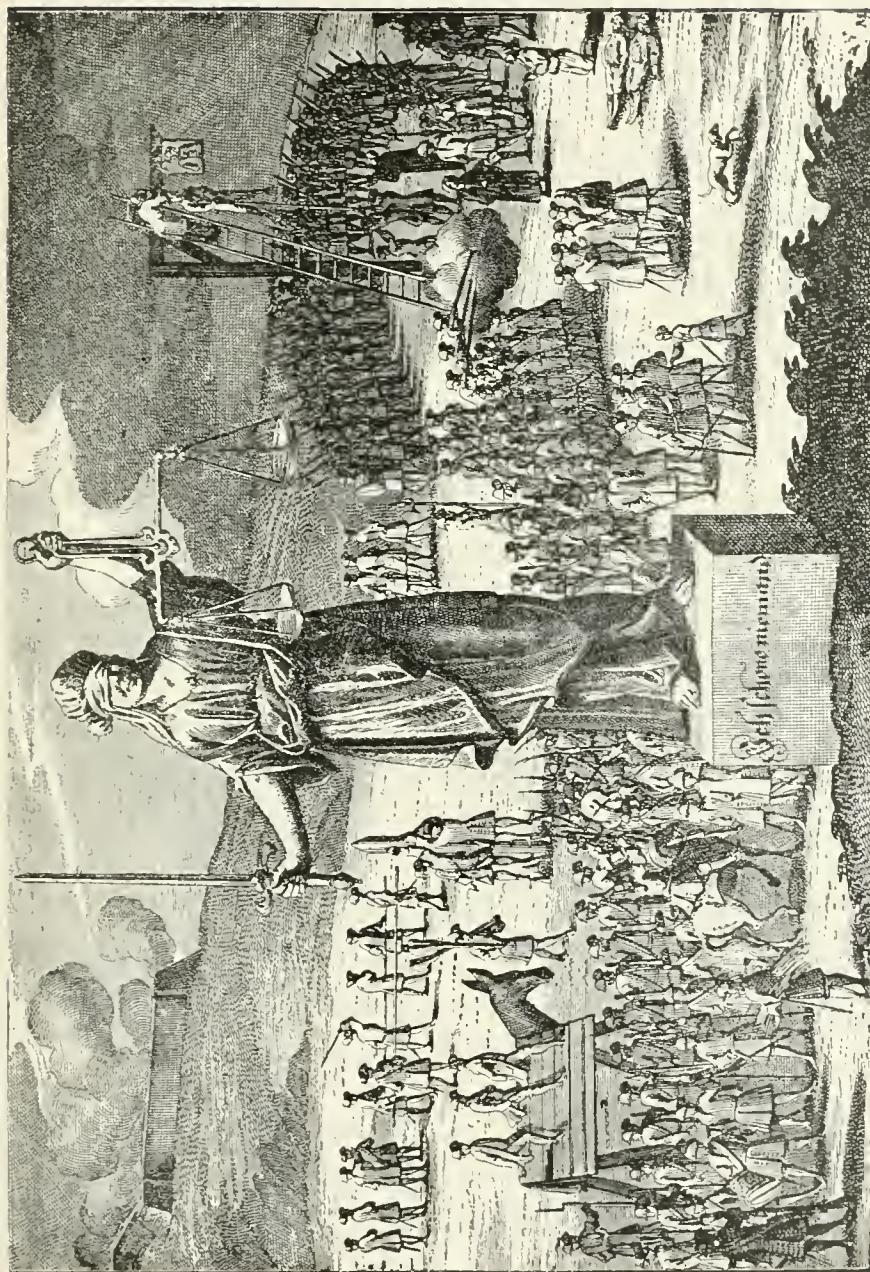


FIG. 15. — Military punishments in the beginning of the eighteenth century. (From von Fleming, "The Complete German Soldier," Leipzig, 1726.)

of the administration of justice by the courts, as well as with the fate of individuals. Prosperous citizens were forced to undertake building that was ruinous to them, and laborers were forced to engage in it. How should an initiative be found, and original views be formed, in an administration in which the highest as well as the lowest officers were obliged to quake for fear of the king's cane; in which the soldier was everything, and the civilian nothing?

Art Frederick William despised as something weak and effeminate. Of science, his stiff, orthodox spirit cherished the fiercest distrust, for he regarded it as leading to irreligion. He expelled the famous philosopher, Wolf, from Halle, because of his deistical beliefs; and as successor to the great Leibnitz, in the presidency of the Academy of Sciences, he appointed the dull-witted Gundling. In general, he knew no more refined pleasures than a glass of beer and a pipe of tobacco.

His foreign policy was an utter failure. In the great European complications he was completely at sea, and showed a want of vigorous thought and of energy which contrasted strangely with his impetuous conduct at other times. After a sudden explosion in his occasional outbursts of almost insane passion, there ensued long periods of mental languor, of irresolution and indecision, just because he did not feel himself equal to the situation. Entirely without plans, he suffered himself to be led by varying circumstances, and thus appeared to be changeable and unreliable. From these weaknesses resulted an influence the more pernicious because he desired to rule in everything himself. Ilgen, his assistant in foreign affairs, could not have imparted to him any large views, it is true; for Ilgen himself was a man anxious and undecided, skilful in small things, incompetent for great affairs. Later on, Frederick William, who desired to regulate the smallest matters in his state, who received all opposition with an outbreak of rage, allowed himself to be completely led astray, ignominiously insnared, and, in affairs of moment, used for their profit, by intriguing courtiers like General Grumbkow, Leopold of Dessau, Seckendorf, and Madame de Blaspeil.

There were three ruling considerations that dominated the entire policy of Frederick William I.,— the faithful adherence of the German princes to the house of the emperor; regard for the interests of his Protestant fellow-believers; and, finally, the hope of obtaining

for his house the remainder of the Cleves inheritance, the duchies of Jülich and Berg, since the line now in possession — that of the elector palatine — was believed to be dying out. But these three considerations necessarily conflicted with one another. The Emperor Charles VI. was the determined enemy of the Protestant portions of the empire, and especially of Prussia and parts adjacent. Hanover might aid the court of Vienna with the resources of England, and Saxony with those of Poland; but Prussia could only be distasteful to the emperor. Notwithstanding momentary blandishments, the Austrian policy was sharply and continually directed against Prussia. A number of suits, in which Prussia was interested, were pending before the imperial Aulic Council. All these cases were decided to the disadvantage of Prussia. The Prussian envoy in Vienna saw himself the object of hostile treatment; in October, 1721, he was dishonorably dismissed. The county of Tecklenburg, which Prussia had lawfully purchased, the emperor ordered to be delivered to Count Bentheim; he even absurdly intrusted the bishop of Münster with the execution of this mandate. Frederick William threatened to resist the prelate with forty thousand men, so that he preferred to forbear the execution.

When in the question relating to Jülich the emperor assumed a positive position not less hostile, Frederick William joined England and Hanover, with whom, as early as October, 1723, he formed a friendly and defensive alliance at Charlottenburg. In this treaty the former expressly promised their support to secure possession of the Jülich inheritance. The more defiant and hostile Charles VI. appeared toward Protestant interests, the closer became the connection between the two great Evangelical houses of Hanover and Brandenburg. Besides, bloody events took place in Poland, which rendered still more evident the necessity of mutual co-operation on the part of these states.

We have already seen in what a distracted condition Poland came out of the Northern War. King Augustus II. had not hesitated after his restoration to institute, in connection with Prussia, Austria, and Russia, proceedings for the partition of the territory of the republic, seeking in this manner to mark out the largest possible portion, as a hereditary state, under his absolute control. There was lacking for the execution of his projects only the required courage in him, as well as in his minister, Flemming. But meantime a formidable movement was silently organizing against him. The nobles were angry that,

notwithstanding the engagements to which he had pledged himself when he was elected, the so-called *pacta conventa*, the king had retained in the country his Saxon regiments, even after the war was completely over. In a short time the nobility came together at Tarnogrod, suddenly formed a 'confederation,' fell upon the Saxons, who were lying unprepared in their quarters, and slaughtered the greater part of the unfortunate men (1715). Unable to sustain himself against the superior force of his adversaries, Augustus was obliged to appeal to his protector, the czar. An agreement was then effected with the czar (1716), in pursuance of which the king was to send the remainder of his Saxons to their homes; but the national army of Poland was to be reduced one half. Thus the czar became the real sovereign of Poland.

Since violence had not succeeded, Augustus II. desired by means of intrigues to exercise a controlling influence upon the high nobility, and through them upon the realm. A luxurious and splendid manner of life was exhibited at the court of Warsaw, in which all the seductive arts of a refined civilization united with the barbarous rudeness of that day to produce fearful excesses. The king, with his numerous amours, gave tone to it. Women acquired the greatest influence; and it was the beautiful and intriguing ladies of Poland who held in their hands the offices, dignities, and interests of the state.

However, this expedient also did not succeed with the king. The land was torn by discord and party strife; there was agreement only in the persecution of 'Dissenters,' that is, of Protestants and Greek Catholics. Thus, as already related, it was decided at the diet of 1717 to exclude them permanently from the representative assembly of the kingdom. Presently Augustus made known the conversion to the Catholic religion of his oldest son, the electoral prince Frederick Augustus. The hostility and persecution directed against dissenting churches after this gained a greater ascendancy every year. The increasing intolerance was most strikingly brought to light in the transactions of which Thorn was the theatre.

This West Prussian city, like Dantzie and Elbing, had maintained its German character even after the cession of the province to Poland in 1455: and consequently it had, like the neighbouring German districts, accepted Lutheranism. The crown took a special interest in furthering the introduction of the Jesuits into these communities, and succeeded in effecting it in Thorn. Since then

the internal peace of the city was destroyed; for the Jesuits and their pupils purposely provoked the Lutheran citizens, in order to bring about a violent collision, from which they hoped for the forcible extirpation of heresy in Thorn by the power of the state of Poland. The proceedings throughout remind one of the behavior of the monks of Donauwörth in the year 1607. In a procession that occurred in July the Jesuits, by ill-treatment of the Evangelical spectators, aroused their anger so that at last they forced their way into the college, and there broke and destroyed everything. The magistracy of the city committed the gross error of not doing anything either to protect the college or to punish the rioters. The Jesuits joyfully profited by these circumstances in order to bring before their powerful patrons in Warsaw complaints against the city of Thorn. Thereupon a commission, at whose head were placed the most notorious adversaries of Thorn, was despatched to that place. It immediately took sides against the citizens and their magistrates, and cast sixty persons into prison. The royal Court of Assessors at Warsaw, eager to strike at the same time German citizens and Lutherans, actually condemned the first burgomaster, Rösner, and the second, Zernecke, to whom at the most only negligence could be imputed, together with nine other citizens, to be beheaded, and to lose all their possessions. In vain did the kings of Prussia and Sweden, and even Catholic powers, interpose in behalf of these unfortunate men. With the exception of Zernecke, who was pardoned, they all suffered death upon the scaffold (December, 1724). As a matter of course, not one of the Jesuits was punished; on the contrary, they obtained from the city a vast sum in indemnification. Moreover, the city was compelled to surrender to the Catholics the principal Evangelical church, and had to remove the Lutheran High School (Gymnasium) outside the city walls.

This 'Thorn Massacre' is one of the darkest stains upon the history of Poland, and justifies, to a very great extent, the hostility subsequently shown by the non-Catholic powers, Prussia and Russia, towards this government of a persecuting and bigoted aristocracy. Peculiarly strong was the indignation of Frederick William I. He now considered it high time to join Hanover and England for the defense of the common Evangelical faith. Thus disposed, in the summer of 1725 he met his father-in-law, George I., at the villa of Herrenhausen, near Hanover. Townshend, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, won him over completely by convincing

assurances of aid in the Jülich question ; and France addressed the Prussian king with similar offers. He therefore acceded to the Treaty of Hanover, which was concluded on September 3, 1725, between England, France, and Prussia. The three crowns formed a union for the defence of their possessions and rights 'in Europe and elsewhere,' to continue for fifteen years. A special article pledged a solution of the Jülich question completely in consonance with the desires of Prussia.

England did not rest until still other powers joined them. The example of Prussia was followed by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who, following a favorite practice of German princes at that day, hired for large pay twelve thousand of his country people to Great Britain. The Dutch Republic also, on account of rivalry with the East India Company of the emperor, acceded to the League of Hanover. Denmark had too great need of English protection against the Czarina Catharine not to become in like manner a member of this alliance. And finally Sweden was ready to take a similar position.

The reaction against the absolute government of Charles XII. had completely delivered over this kingdom to the great nobles. Since the nobility thought their plans easier of accomplishment under the government of a woman, on the death of Charles they had chosen his sister, Ulrike Eleonore, for sovereign (1719). Next year she transferred her rights to her consort, Frederick, crown prince of Hesse-Cassel. For protection against the rule of a man, the nobles purposed resorting to the complete destruction of the royal power. The sovereign power passed wholly to the estates of the kingdom. All the authorities were bound to them by oath ; on their nomination all places in the higher administration and in the army, from colonel upward, were made dependent, any assault upon the full power of the estates of the realm was declared to be high treason. Meanwhile the estates met comparatively seldom ; in the interim, a royal council, chosen from the high nobility by the estates, exercised supreme authority. In this council a majority of the votes was necessary for a decision, and the king had only two.

But the royal council in time showed itself to be no less useless than it was during the minority of Charles XII. Instead of promoting the welfare of the kingdom, it considered only the special interests of its members. In the diet of 1726, there appeared for the first time in opposition to each other the factions of the 'Caps' and the 'Hats.' The former, led by Arvid Horn, strove for the com-

plete transformation of the state into a republic controlled by the nobility, and desired, in connection with Russia, to promote peace, commerce, and industry. The 'Hats,' under the leadership of Carl Gyllenborg, styled themselves the king's friends, relied upon France, and were intent on reconquering the Baltic Provinces. At bottom both parties cared less for carrying out their avowed programme than to take power into their own hands, to divide among their own adherents the revenues of the state, and to purchase for themselves favorable conditions on the part of foreign powers. For the time England was more powerful in money than Russia, and consequently Sweden also joined the League of Hanover.

Every moment people were expecting the outbreak of a general war. Such was the situation at the beginning of the year 1726.

## CHAPTER IV.

### RESTORATION OF PEACE BY CARDINAL FLEURY.

IN December, 1725, Ripperda, proud of the successes achieved by him, returned to Spain. He boasted publicly that the emperor had 150,000 men ready for the immediate commencement of hostilities. If the League of Hanover should venture to move, France would be plundered on all sides. In a single campaign the king of Prussia would be chased out of his country, and in like manner the king of England from Hanover, while the Stuarts would drive him from Great Britain. Six good friends had he. Ripperda, — God, the Holy Virgin, the emperor and empress, and the king and queen of Spain. Such vaunts produced a deep impression upon the proud Spanish people. As a reward for his high deserts Ripperda was made a duke, and appointed prime minister.

But he was soon to be undeceived in the saddest manner, both as regards his own abilities and those of his allies. They had simply deceived each other on both sides, — the court of Vienna, the Spaniards, by the pretence of a marriage of Maria Theresa to Don Carlos; and Ripperda, the court of Vienna, by promising unlimited subsidies. For the emperor was silent about the marriage now, and, instead of placing a powerful army at the disposal of Spain, constantly demanded money from that country for his armaments. The court of Vienna was not able to provide the sixty thousand thalers that were absolutely necessary to restore the dilapidated fortifications of Ostend. Ripperda endeavored with all the means in his power to draw considerable financial resources from the exhausted soil of Spain. He imposed on all officers who held lucrative positions compulsory taxes under pretence of alleged embezzlements. He stopped the payment of all pensions and interest, and raised the value of the coinage. But these violent measures, which were embellished with the name of 'reforms,' were unable to defray the costs of equipping the Spanish and imperial armies; on the other hand, there naturally arose a storm in Spain against the daring and unprincipled minister and the Austrian alliance,

which seemed destined to cause the ruin of the country. Already the alliance was near dissolution when the imperial envoy at Madrid, Count Königsegg, forcibly interfered. He put all the blame on Ripperda: and since the latter was detested by all classes of the population, and since many ecclesiastics, in whom the king confided, had already warned him of the irrational proceedings of the duke, Philip V. ordered his deposition. On May 14, 1726, Ripperda received a letter from the king conveying his dismissal, but securing to him a pension of 3000 pistoles. He was as cowardly and abject in misfortune as he had been haughty and pompous in prosperity. He believed himself threatened by the people and government of Spain, and fled to the house of the English ambassador, and made to him wonderful disclosures respecting the fearful plans of the courts of Vienna and Madrid. Thus the rascal sought to excite the English nation against the powers whose service he had that moment left. As a matter of course, the king of Spain desired that he be delivered up; and when Stanhope refused, the police, in spite of his protests, pressed their way into his palace, and brought Ripperda out. He was confined in the citadel of Segovia, but after two years' imprisonment he succeeded in making his escape. After an adventurous life in England and Holland, he entered the service of the sultan of Morocco, embraced the Mohammedan religion, and at the head of a Moorish army fought against Spain, was defeated, and died in 1737 at the age of seventy-two.

The fall of Ripperda resulted in fresh negotiations between Spain and Austria, and a revival of the warlike purposes of Elizabeth Farnese. The Austrian ambassador, Count Königsegg, became all-powerful at Madrid. He had Grimaldo, a faithful and intelligent man and for twenty years Minister of Foreign Affairs, dismissed, and replaced by the Marquis de la Paz, one of the emperor's adherents. Bermudez, the king's confessor, whom previously even the queen's hatred could not drive away, was brought into disgrace by means of Königsegg, because he was in connection with France. The diplomatic relations between Madrid and Paris, between Vienna and London, were broken off. France increased her army. England despatched fleets to the West Indies and to the coast of Spain. Yet, notwithstanding these adverse preparations, the emperor and his allies were encouraged by an important diplomatic success.

Frederick William had quickly repented of his accession to the League of Hanover. His conscience as a prince of the empire re-

proached him for his hostility to the emperor: his German patriotism for drawing the French into the empire. Besides, he feared that the Russians might overrun his state before England and France could come to his assistance. The court of Vienna skilfully took advantage of these sentiments on the part of the king. Under ambiguous pretexts it sent to Berlin the Count of Seckendorf, who, notwithstanding his Protestantism, had reached the highest civil and military dignities in Austria, and was a soldier-diplomatist such as Frederick William liked. Although the Emperor Joseph had already promised Jülich-Berg to the Palatinate house of Sulzbach, he nevertheless was willing to grant at least Berg to the king of Prussia. With this stipulation Frederick William concluded a treaty with him at Wusterhausen, in October, 1726, in which he guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction and the integrity of the emperor's territories with an army of 10,000 men. Both powers furthermore promised each other to regulate jointly the succession to the throne of Poland. This treaty was a wholly unjustifiable defection of Frederick William I. from the League of Hanover. Such fickle conduct destroyed in Europe all confidence in the Prussian king and all consideration for him.

This event certainly seemed to restore again the equipoise between the two hostile alliances. Now Elizabeth of Spain issued her commands to lay an embargo upon English ships, and ordered (January, 1727) the siege of Gibraltar. The Spanish general, Count de las Torres, boasted that with his 12,000 men he could take the fortress in six weeks. However, the Spaniards, who were wanting in the most essential preparations and supplies made no progress in the assault, while, by the enemy's fire and through scarcity and disease, they suffered the loss of half their army. With feverish impatience Elizabeth Farnese urged the emperor to meet and perform his obligations. But soon she saw that in her warlike feeling she stood altogether alone among European powers.

Especially in the most important states changes had occurred favorable to the maintenance of peace. In France the Duke of Bourbon, immediately after sending back the infanta to Spain, had looked around to find a princess who might at the earliest possible day give children to the king, and thereby not endanger the duke's position and control. Louis XV., since early childhood, had been nurtured upon the maxims of unlimited and autocratic power: but the sickly and peevish boy had only learned from this to obey every

one of his caprices, and not to cherish and accomplish any definite and permanent purpose. His acquirements were inconsiderable; but there had been imparted to him an extraordinary dread of the threatenings and doctrines of religion. The fear of eternal punishment dominated him all through his life, and was in incessant conflict with his passions. His nominal majority, which he attained on completing his thirteenth year, and his coronation, which followed at Rheims, had obviously made little change in these relations. He took not the least concern in the most elementary duties of his position, and lived only for his pleasures, especially the chase. Three years later people were persuaded that an intelligent and energetic wife would control the young sovereign completely. Madame de Prié, Bourbon's mistress, directed his attention to a princess whose position was as modest as were her talents. Maria (Fig. 16), the daughter of the ephemeral Polish king, Stanislaus Leszczynski. She was seven years older than Louis XV.; her rank was entirely disproportionate to that of a king of France; she was, moreover, far from handsome; but even these disadvantages must render her so much the more grateful to the authors of her fabulous elevation. In her, Bourbon and Madame de Prié were convinced that a willing instrument would be found near the sovereign. Louis accepted this consort with as much indifference as any other that might have been proposed to him. She was brought from Alsace, where her father had sought a refuge, and was married to the king in August, 1725.

In truth, the good, pious Maria fully answered the hopes which Bourbon and his mistress had placed on her.

Nevertheless, their supremacy was soon destroyed. When Louis XV. was growing up, his instructor, André Hercule de Fleury, bishop of Fréjus, gradually acquired influence next to the Duke of Bourbon. The inclination of the young monarch for his teacher contributed to this result, and also his purely absolutist aversion to a rule exercised by princes of the royal house. The king wished a man who had his personal confidence to assume the first place in the realm. Moreover, Henry of Bourbon had shown himself to be so incompetent that discontent with his administration pervaded all classes of the nation. He manifested utter dependence on Madame de Prié, and on her creature, the financier Paris-Duverney. He set everybody against him by his arrogance and rudeness. His financial minister, Dodun, although childless, plundered the state treasury more wantonly than any of his predecessors since



FIG. 16.—Maria of Poland, Queen of France. From the copper-plate engraving by Jacques Nicolas Tardieu (Cochin) (1718–1795); original painting by Jean Marc Nattier (1685–1776).

the famous Fouquet. On account of the insatiable craving of the great nobles, the people were crushed with new taxes at a time when the total failure of the harvests spread wretchedness and famine through the entire kingdom. A shameful adulteration of the coinage increased the general poverty and despair. There occurred formidable uprisings: bands of three to four hundred armed women in several provinces marched through the villages, and prevented all payment of taxes. To this they were encouraged by the parlements, which branded the exactions of the government as illegal. Fleury demanded of the duke the removal of Madame de Prié and Paris-Duverney from his presence, whereupon they naturally sought to effect the downfall of the bishop. But he stood more firmly in the favor of the young sovereign than they and Bourbon. The bishop pleased Louis by the benignity of his character, by the gentleness of his unaffected and refined spirit, and even by the mild tones of his voice. Bourbon, on the contrary, a rough, loud, brutal man, was detested by the young king. On June 11, 1726, the palace revolution took place. After the king in the most gracious manner had just before personally invited the duke to supper, the latter suddenly received an autograph mandate from the sovereign banishing him to his estate of Chantilly. The joy of the people was universal. Bourbon bore his disgrace with much dignity. He occupied himself at Chantilly chiefly with studies in chemistry, and established there a famous cabinet of natural history. Madame de Prié was exiled to Normandy; her sorrow was so great at having lost power that soon afterwards she ended her life by poison. Fleury was now the first minister of young Louis XV. (Fig. 17), who was so averse to labor. The king was sure that this man would not serve the interests of a faction, or of the other branch of the dynasty, but only those of the sovereign and of the state.

Fleury was esteemed as one of the most amiable and sociable of men until his seventy-third year: and at this age, when one commonly withdraws, it was his fortune to be considered one of the wisest of men. From 1726 to 1742 everything which he undertook succeeded with him; and still, when nearly ninety years of age, he retained a mind clear, keen, and skilful in business. Born in 1653, at Lodève, Languedoc, Fleury had commended himself by his piety to Queen Maria Theresa. Louis XIV. had little affection for him, and with reluctance appointed him bishop of the remote and poor diocese of Fréjus. His conduct in his bishopric was so beneficent



*Louis Quinze Roi de France et de Navarre*

*Se vint à Paris dans l'atelier de Larmessin, graveur du Roi, fait à Paris, à la 1<sup>re</sup> partie du règne de Louis XV, à la 5<sup>e</sup> année de son règne, par le sieur J. Journe*

FIG. 17. — Louis XV., King of France. (From a copper-plate engraving by N. de Larmessin.)

and exemplary that he acquired for himself consideration; and even Louis XIV., influenced by public opinion, on his deathbed appointed him teacher of his great-grandson. His gentle character and his

indulgence, not wholly free from calumny, made him dear to his royal pupil. He quietly awaited his time, and held himself aloof from public affairs, till the period of Louis's independence and the failures of Bourbon opened the way for him to a controlling position. In a short time he was invested with the cardinal's purple.

The aged minister was a man of learning, but with eyes opened to political relations, and with still unimpaired powers and refinement of intellect. By his age, his priestly calling, and his inmost conviction, he was a lover of peace. The violent and abortive period of novelties under the regency had, in the eyes of the French people, once more restored to confidence the old neglected policy. Under this cardinal's mild and benevolent guidance, the political and philosophical passions awakened forty years before went to sleep again for two decades longer. The sound knowledge of men which he displayed found universal approval when contrasted with the incapacity and greed of Bourbon and his favorites. People were weary of immoral and irregular genius, and hailed with joy the leadership of a wise moderation. Fleury, who was master of the culture of his time, paid due regard to the new tendencies and forces, whose importance he thoroughly recognized, and did not seek to excite them by too decided opposition. His endeavor was everywhere to shun show, to equalize tendencies, to allow none of the opposites that warred with one another to become too strong. Thus he obtained great results, which, however, in the nature of things, could act only as preventive, and not at all as creative.

Fleury (Fig. 18) had had no part in the affronts inflicted on Spain, and he began without delay negotiations for the purpose of restoring and securing peace. No less in need of peace was Walpole, the leading English minister; for he feared that the vicissitudes of a great European conflict might lead to his downfall. He would even have delivered up Gibraltar to the Spaniards, if he had not dreaded to encounter the discontent of parliament.

Among the enemies of England and France, Charles VI. became more uneasy the nearer the decision approached. The Spanish subsidies became more inadequate, and finally ceased altogether. Without foreign support in money, the court of Vienna, from its wretched financial situation, was not able to carry on a great foreign war. To increase its embarrassment, the Czarina Catharine I. died, in May, 1727. In the uncertainty with respect to the succession to the Russian throne, and Russian relations in general, this death ren-

dered Russia's aid to the emperor a matter of great doubt. Consequently, against half Europe, Austria could count only upon the assistance of financially ruined Spain, whose army just now had made itself ridiculous before Gibraltar, and upon that of the vacil-



FIG. 18.—Cardinal Fleury. From an engraving by F. Chereau (1680-1729); original painting by H. Rigaud (1659-1743).

lating king of Prussia. Such dangers the emperor thought he ought not to brave. Besides, he hoped with time to win France over to a league of Catholic powers. He therefore caused preliminaries of peace to be provisionally settled at Paris, on May 31,



PLATE IX.



GEORGVS II.

D. G. Magn. Britann. Franc. et Hibern.  
Rex. Fidei Defensor. Dux Brunsv. et Luneburg. S. R.  
Imp. Archi Thesaurarii et Elector.

1760

George II., Elector of Hanover, King of England.

From a copper-plate engraving by C. F. Fritzsch; original painting by Francesco Carlo Rusca (1701-1769).

*History of All Nations, Vol. XIV., page 121.*

1727. This established a general truce for seven years, which also included Spain, and for the same space of time suspended the Belgian East India Company. In Belgium this suspension excited lively dissatisfaction. The holders of shares in the Belgian East India Company suffered serious losses; but still worse was the permanent injury endured by the seafaring body and the country at large, on account of the cessation of the extended and lucrative commerce of Ostend. For some years, till 1735, the company still continued its business in a clandestine manner, sailing from Hamburg under foreign flags. The emperor then, on the representation of the maritime powers, put a definitive end to the company.

But Philip V. was beside himself with grief at being obliged to renounce the conquest of Gibraltar. He postponed the ratification of the preliminaries because he hoped that on the expected death of George I. Jacobite disturbances would break out in England. But when after the death of George I. (June 11, 1727) his son, George II., peacefully mounted the throne, and retained his father's ministers in office, and, further, not the least attempt on England was hazarded by the Pretender, then Philip V. also complied. A severe illness that threatened the life of Philip finally broke up the stubbornness of Elizabeth Farnese. Through the so-called Act of Pardon, the court of Madrid likewise accepted the preliminaries. Notwithstanding this seeming reconciliation, the Spaniards continued to cherish bitter indignation against the two powers,—against England because she obstinately withheld Gibraltar from them, and against the emperor, who had abandoned them. It was only the hope of seeing Don Carlos married to the Austrian heiress that prevented the Spanish royal pair from breaking openly with the Vienna government.

George II. (PLATE IX.), born in 1683, the new king of England, had the advantage of having come to England in his youth, and of having learned the English language and English habits. He had a petty mind, avaricious, superficial, and hostile to cultivation; furthermore, he was dissolute, and of a character unamiable and harsh. His only virtue was courage in war. Although he personally hated Walpole, he nevertheless perceived that on account of his great influence with the parliament Walpole was indispensable: and his place was only the more assured to him when the king sent back the German favorites (men and women) to Hanover. The reward for this self-sacrifice on the part of the king was a majority of four-fifths favorable to the government in the new House of Commons.

The congress provided for in the Paris preliminaries, to settle all remaining difficulties, finally met at Soissons, in the summer of 1728. But it was completely barren of results, since Spain especially manifested little desire to confirm her defeat by a solemn international treaty. The emperor was not willing to leave the Italian duchies to Spanish influence, and exhorted their possessors to intermarry and perpetuate their race. England was deaf to all claims made by Spain for indemnification, and also to Spain's demand for the restoration of Gibraltar. In May, 1729, the congress was transferred to the French capital, where until September, 1730, it continued to maintain a contemplative and uneventful existence.

It was perceived at Vienna that no advantage whatever was to accrue from the Spanish alliance. The East India Company had been given up, and the expectation of Spanish subsidies had to be abandoned. So much the more did the imperial government delay, under various pretexts, with regard to the promised Spanish-Austrian marriages. A proceeding indicating so little principle was the more dangerous, inasmuch as the ambitious and vindictive Queen Elizabeth Farnese, in consequence of the growing melancholy of her consort, now administered the Spanish government entirely by herself. The melancholy of King Philip V. had increased so much that he desired to be entirely relieved from the burden of rule; but the queen compelled him to retain it, at least in name. The wretched man attempted several times to escape from his palace into solitude, but was always thwarted by the vigilance of the queen. When on one occasion she had absented herself for a short time, Philip availed himself of this circumstance to draw up his own deed of abdication, and to send it to the president of the Council of Castile. Elizabeth received intelligence of this act, demanded the document from the president, and destroyed it. Thereupon Philip submitted to his fate, to be obliged to retain the semblance of rule, while he committed to the queen all the essentials of power. But Elizabeth was compelled to acknowledge that her dearest wish would never be accomplished on the part of Austria. France and England eagerly profited by her anger on account of the deception which Charles VI. practised upon her, and offered for her younger sons a less splendid but more certain establishment. Besides, she was still hoping for the death of Louis XV. without heirs, and then to see her consort, that is, herself, ascend the throne of France. She at once went over from the Austrian connection to the alliance with the Western powers; and

the result of this exchange was the treaty concluded, in November, 1729, at Seville, between Spain, England, France, and Holland.

This treaty consisted in an unconditional defensive alliance between the four powers. Spain recalled all the commercial advantages which she had given to Austrian subjects, and conferred them on her new allies. Spain silently resigned her claims on Gibraltar, in consideration of which the other three states pledged themselves to Don Carlos's succession in Tuscany and Parma, whose fortresses were to be immediately garrisoned by 6000 Spaniards.

The Vienna alliance was thus utterly destroyed; and Charles VI. saw his foolish Spanish adventure punished by the complete dissolution of the Quadruple Alliance, which previously had afforded an effectual guaranty of Austria's greatness and power. Instead of blaming his own folly and that of his counsellors, the emperor manifested extreme indignation at the faithlessness of Spain, although the rupture of the alliance had proceeded from him by his refusal of the stipulated Austro-Spanish marriages. He resolved to oppose the Bourbon designs upon Italy by force, if necessary. In this he was confirmed by the friendly attitude of his allies, Russia and Prussia.

After the death of Catharine, Peter II., the son of the unfortunate Alexis, mounted the throne, though still a child. The czar, aged twelve, was completely under the control of Menshikoff (Fig. 19), who held him as a prisoner, and betrothed one of his daughters to him. In order to gain over the priesthood, Menshikoff restored to them the management of their possessions, and suffered the schools founded by Peter the Great to decline. But he exasperated the young czar by ill-treatment and mortification of all kinds to such an extent that Peter, following the suggestions of the Prince Dolgoruki, the leader of the Old Russian party, suddenly banished Menshikoff, with his family and the imperial bride, to Siberia, where they all died.

The Old Russian party triumphed, the Dolgorukis were all-powerful. The most rigid orthodoxy was once more established in the church; and the court was removed from St. Petersburg to Moscow, the ancient capital. The army and marine were purposely suffered to fall into decay. To the Austrian alliance only did this government hold firmly.

Then the poor young emperor suddenly died of small-pox, January 30, 1730.

The legitimate heir to the throne, designated expressly by law, was young Peter of Holstein, son of Peter the Great's eldest daughter. The Old Russian boyar party, however, gave the succession to Anna Ivanovna, widowed Duchess of Courland, the younger daughter of Peter I.'s idiotic brother, Ivan. Legally she had no



FIG. 19. — Menshikoff. (From a contemporary copper-plate engraving in the Public Library at St. Petersburg.)

title to the crown, and was consequently obliged to subscribe to terms that were extremely restrictive, and made her dependent upon a 'High Council,' composed of the great nobles and officials. But soon dissension broke out among the victors. Anna profited by this disorder to free herself from every restriction. The entire Dolgoruki family, together with the second bride of the deceased Peter II.,

were now compelled to go to Siberia, as the Menshikoffs had gone two years before. Thus was the autocracy again restored. With Peter the Great, it had been only the means to get Russia to take up European culture. But now autocracy in Russia was its own end, the maintenance of itself the special mission of its unlimited power. And thus it continued till the reign of Catharine II.

Anna again removed the residence of the court to St. Petersburg. The ascendancy of the Old Russians had now ceased, and strangers (Germans) were more powerful than they had ever been. Heinrich Ostermann, son of a preacher at Bochum, in Westphalia, managed foreign affairs. He had fled to Holland on account of a duel, and had there become known to Peter the Great, who was much pleased with the adroit and ingenious young man, and took him to Russia. With much sagacity he had known what course to pursue during the last two reigns, and had then placed himself entirely at the disposal of the Czarina Anna. Burkhard Christoph von Münnich was intrusted with the administration of the war department. Since he was especially skilled in engineering, Peter the Great had employed him to construct the fortifications of Kronstadt and Riga, and Anna had made him field-marshal-general and president of the War College, in which capacity he had with great skill reorganized the Russian army, that had been altogether neglected since the death of the great emperor. But the greatest personal influence over Anna was exercised by her gentleman of the bed-chamber, Ernst Johann von Biron, son of a landed proprietor of Courland by the name of Bühren. He knew how to please his young widowed mistress. When she became empress, she promoted him to be principal lord of the bed-chamber. She overwhelmed him with titles and riches; he was very closely connected with Ostermann and Münnich. Under the rule of these Germans much was done, and the civilizing endeavors of Peter the Great were taken up with greater mildness, but with effective energy.

Anna Ivanovna, who, like her predecessors, was well affected toward Austria, disposed the best Russian regiments for the eventual support of the emperor on the western frontiers of his realm. But as this ally was not enough, he did everything in his power to bind Prussia permanently to his cause. All the suits pending before the council of the imperial court, in which Prussia was interested, were decided in her favor. Seekendorf appeared a second time in Berlin to begin once more his old game with the king. He proposed

to the king the formation of a permanent alliance with the emperor on the basis of bestowing Berg on Prussia; on the other hand, Prussia was to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction with her entire force. The Prussian ministers declared themselves earnestly against such an alliance, which imposed on their state absolutely definite and immediate obligations, while the settlement of the Jülich question was still far remote, and offered the court of Vienna a thousand possibilities and pretexts for withdrawing its promise just given; but Frederick William I., with his sentiments of fidelity to the emperor, and with the impulsiveness of his capricious disposition, nevertheless subscribed the treaty (December 23, 1728), which completely subjected him to the policy of Austria. By this step he broke entirely with his father-in-law, George II. of England, offended his best ministers, and set against himself his own children, who adhered to the English connection.

Relying upon the co-operation of Russia and Prussia, the emperor refused to accede to the Treaty of Seville, and declared that he was not willing to suffer the admission of Spanish soldiers into the Italian duchies. When at that time (beginning of 1731), by the death of Antonio Farnese, the throne of Parma became vacant, Charles VI. adopted the decided measure of ordering his troops to march into that duchy. The Seville allies, on the contrary, showed an absolute want of unity. In case of war France contemplated conquering Belgium, to which England was not at all willing to consent. England thought of giving Sicily to Spain, a plan in regard to which France was extremely cool. Thus nothing occurred to prevent or punish the emperor's progress. Whereupon Queen Elizabeth publicly declared herself released from the Seville alliance. This bold step did not fail to make its impression upon Sir Robert Walpole, who really desired to avoid war with the emperor, but wished to retain for Englishmen the commercial privileges secured to them by Spain. As the only means for attaining both objects, he adopted the expedient of flattering Charles's fixed idea with respect to the Pragmatic Sanction. His skilful envoy, Sir Thomas Robinson, completely reached the end desired. In March, 1731, the so-called Second Treaty of Vienna was concluded between the emperor and England. The former pledged himself to make no resistance to the admission of 6000 Spaniards into the fortresses of Tuscany and Parma, and to dissolve the Belgian East India Company forever. On the other hand, Great Britain guaranteed the Pragmatic San-

tion, but only on the condition that the archduchess, when called to the inheritance, should marry neither a prince of the House of Bourbon, nor any prince whose power might be able to disturb the European balance of power. In October, 1731, an English fleet conveyed the 6000 Spaniards to Italy, and shortly afterwards Don Carlos repaired to his new duchy of Parma. Elizabeth Farnese recalled her declaration against the Seville alliance. The danger of war thus passed away in the part of the world that had been most alarmed.

The Second Treaty of Vienna brought to a conclusion the wearisome and fluctuating negotiations which had begun with Alberoni's entering upon hostilities in the year 1717. The only one who at the end derived advantage from them was the Queen of Spain, who had obtained and taken possession of Tuscany and Parma for her eldest son. England had held fast to the commercial privileges already conceded by the Treaty of Utrecht. But the agreement made in 1731 was for England a comparative success, inasmuch as a check was imposed on French ambition, and the conquest of Belgium was rendered impossible. The powers were now grouped once more as before; England and Holland joined the emperor. The latter had, indeed, in both his political and commercial schemes, undergone a decisive defeat. He had been obliged to give way to the Bourbon influence in Italy. His daring plans for founding in Belgium a vast commerce were frustrated forever, and Austria lost all the popularity which she had had in that country. The Belgians regarded themselves, not unjustly, as sacrificed, and treated like the step-children of the Austrian monarchy. For this heavy loss he had gained nothing but a paper guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction on the part of the maritime powers and of Spain. To have this family law recognized throughout the German empire also was now his main endeavor. While Austria's real power was continually decreasing, he was successful in regard to the Pragmatic Sanction, which, however, was meaningless. Charles VI., at an early day, had himself recognized the hereditary rights of the daughters of his older brother Joseph I.: they had, however, been obliged to renounce the same by oath on the drawing up of the Pragmatic Sanction. Subsequently, the elder of the two had married Frederick Augustus, the Crown Prince of Saxony, and the other, Charles Albert, the Crown Prince of Bavaria: and both princes contested vigorously the legal validity of that renunciation. When, in the

autumn of 1731, the emperor laid the Pragmatic Sanction before the diet for confirmation, it was most energetically opposed by Saxony, Bavaria, and the Palatinate houses connected with them by relationship. However, they did not succeed. Principally in consequence of the pressure of Prussian influence, the diet, at the beginning of the year 1732, undertook to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, in return for which the emperor promised to defend the empire against all attacks with the resources of his non-German possessions — as if the empire required the protection of Austria more than Austria needed that of the empire! England then induced Denmark also to accede to the guaranty of the Sanction, and to enter into a defensive alliance with Austria and Prussia. As a recent writer has said: “All these documents concerning peace and recognition remained a pile of papers for the archives. They give evidence of the confidence of Charles VI. in international law, but also of the superficial sagacity and the pedantry of his counsellors. While the government was concluding these treaties and obtaining favorable opinions, it lost the inward force to resist, and was making no preparation for the future.”

In nearly the same degree with the emperor, France came out of the fourteen years of negotiations as one vanquished. Her endeavor to place herself at the head of a great European system of states was foiled, as was in like manner her attempt to isolate completely the House of Austria. She saw Austria surrounded anew by a formidable phalanx of allies. Nevertheless, Fleury made no attempt to thwart the Second Treaty of Vienna, nor after its conclusion to defeat it. Though now eighty years of age, he awaited the period of requital with astonishing patience, and meanwhile was content to heal the breach with the Spanish branch of the royal Bourbon house, and thus again restore the work of Louis XIV. by a close alliance between Versailles and Madrid.

Fleury devoted his chief activity to the internal affairs of his own country. In this he hardly employed great creative thought or accomplished weighty reforms. His benign influence consisted in the maintenance of peace, which, with the fruitful soil and mild climate of France, and the intelligent labor of her inhabitants, would necessarily produce results in the highest degree advantageous. First of all, he practised everywhere a system of rigid economy. His enemies reproached him with the avarice of age; but for the finances of France, disordered by senseless and selfish wastefulness,

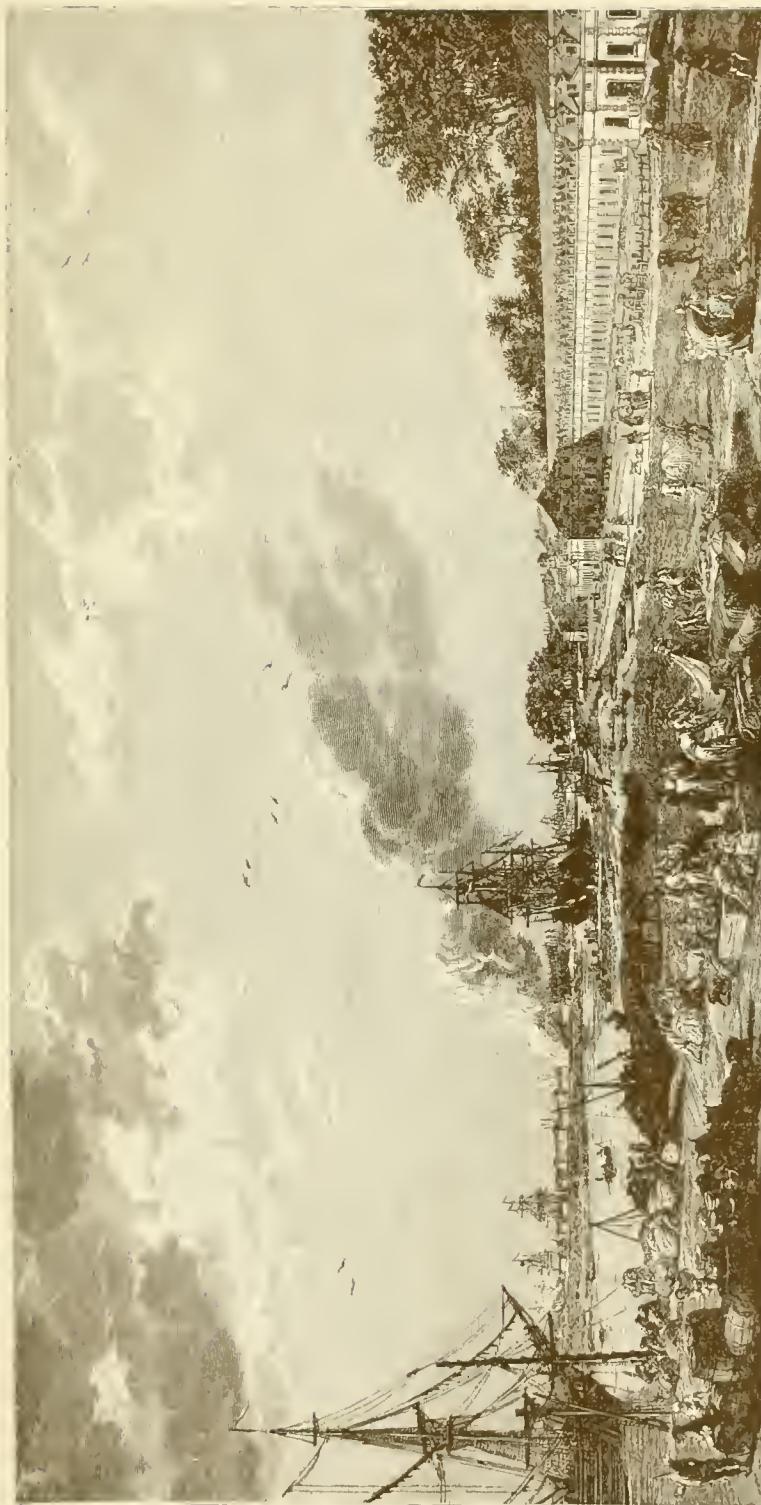
such frugality was indispensable and was of incalculable benefit. He put an end to official adulteration of the coinage, and thus obstructed a fountain — flowing by far too abundantly — of deceit, agitation, and wretchedness. His economy enabled him, furthermore, to strike off some 10,000,000 livres of the most oppressive taxes, a great blessing for the people, who gained double that sum by the cessation of the immense costs and frauds they had to bear in the collection of imposts. In the year 1730 Fleury appointed as comptroller-general of finance the worthy son of that Marquis of Orry who formerly had rendered the greatest services in Spain. Great pains were taken by the vigilant Chancellor d'Aguesseau to diminish the intolerable expenses of the courts of justice, with which judges and lawyers oppressed the public in order to gain a high interest on the money they had paid for their offices.

But not alone by his savings did the cardinal promote the welfare of the people; there were also positive measures originated. By all the means in his power he sought to encourage and extend the cultivation of grain. Swamps and marshes were drained; and thus not merely was arable land acquired, but entire districts were freed from infectious diseases. In times of famine numerous public works were set on foot by the state in order to supply the poor with food. But greater still was the favor the government bestowed on industry and traffic. The Picardy Canal, connecting the Somme and the Oise, was completed, and the Loire was rendered navigable. The network of French roads was still further improved. Fleury established in all the commercial towns of France regular meetings of the merchants for consultation respecting their common interests. Wholesale traffic was not only permitted to the nobles, but they were encouraged to engage in it by special privileges. A royal commercial council, over which the king presided in person, met every fortnight for deliberations that were not without a favorable influence upon French industry. A brisk export trade was carried on with England and Germany, and a commercial treaty was concluded with Sweden. Then, as to-day, solidity of material, taste and attractiveness in workmanship and external appearance, together with correspondingly reasonable prices, characterized French industry. The Levant was entirely under the influence of the French trade, and especially of that of Marseilles, which had its counting-houses everywhere in Asia Minor, Syria, and elsewhere. The French colonies in the West Indies vied with the English in their rich development

(PLATE X.). Even Law's old Indian Company had a return to favorable results under Fleury's prudent intervention. The praise which the observing English traveller, Lady Montagu, bestows in her letters on the effect of Fleury's policy, is the best tribute to his activity: "All that which I see speaks to the praise of Cardinal Fleury. All the roads are improved, and such vigilance is maintained in reference to highwaymen, that one could travel with purse in hand through the kingdom in every direction. The French people are still more changed than the roads; instead of wan, yellow visages, and ragged clothing, as we saw them formerly, the villages are all full of ruddy-cheeked and merry peasants in good clothing and clean linen. It is incredible how rich and contented the whole country appears." Under Fleury's quiet and peaceful government was laid the foundation for that prosperous condition of France which all the wars and revolutions of the last one hundred and fifty years have not been able to destroy.

Notwithstanding his sincere Catholic convictions, Fleury was a zealous friend of the sciences. He sent the great mathematician, Alexis Clairault, together with the equally well known Pierre de Maupertuis, to Lapland (1736), in order to determine the shape of the earth by exact measurements of a meridian. La Condamine was charged with a corresponding mission to the equator, and was thus enabled to make most important geographical and astronomical discoveries in South America, where he spent ten years. Antoine de Jussieu, with a complete staff of eminent naturalists, was despatched to Peru to investigate the fauna and flora of the New World. Natural science did not, however, engage exclusively the interest of the government. On the contrary, it sent Sevin and Fourmont to the East to examine the libraries of Constantinople and Mount Athos, as well as to purchase noteworthy manuscripts which they might discover. In other respects the royal collection of books in Paris received important enrichments. Other learned men were commissioned to make a study of industries and handicrafts in England. New universities were founded in Dijon and in Pau, and a royal Academy of Surgery at Paris. The impulse which the public and substantial support given by the government to scientific endeavors imparted to the active mind of the French had the most favorable results. In the larger provincial cities men of learning and authors came together in 'academies,' which, though they did not accomplish much for posterity, stimulated the scientific and literary taste

PLATE X.



View of Rochefort Harbor with the Colonial Warehouses.

Reduced facsimile of an engraving (1767) by C. N. Cochin (1715-1790) and J. P. le Bas (1707-1783); original painting by Claude Joseph Vernet (1714-1789).

*History of the Nations*, Vol. XVI, page 130.



of the educated classes. The natural sciences, particularly, impressed deeply and pervaded the spirit of the nation. All men of note, even Voltaire, made a thorough study of these sciences.

The contentment of the French population was not disturbed by the orthodox and reactionary policy which was pursued by the aged cardinal in religious questions.

The most important of these was the contention over the bull *Unigenitus*, which, notwithstanding all the pains taken by Dubois and the regent, was not yet settled. It was renewed when the provincial council of Embrun suspended Bishop Soanen of Sénez from his office. Not only did twenty of the first advocates of Paris combat the legality of the procedure of this 'Robber Council,' but twelve bishops, among whom the Cardinal-Archbishop Noailles was the most eminent, made an emphatic protest against it. Fleury quickly brought into subjection Noailles, whose mind was utterly enfeebled, and who now always shared the opinion of the one that spoke with him last, and drove from the College of the Sorbonne a hundred of the most distinguished opponents of the bull, and induced that body to accept the papal document. Thereupon a royal decree commanded the same thing from all the ecclesiastics of France (March, 1730). The Parlement of Paris protested; but Louis held in the parlement a so-called 'bed of justice,' that is, a solemn assembly, over which he presided with the peers of the realm, and in which his will was at once law, and ordered the bull to be registered. Thus the parlement was compelled to yield.

Fleury's patient firmness had in this matter secured a success which neither the despotism of Louis XIV. nor the adroitness of Dubois had been able to obtain. The general and final acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus* indicated of itself the defeat and condemnation of the Jansenists. Fleury tolerated no priest who was suspected of Jansenist sentiments. He sent every one into exile or to prison. Many ecclesiastics who adhered to these opinions escaped to Holland, where the Jansenist church of Utrecht, under the protection of the religious liberty of the Netherlands, organized itself into a metropolitan chapter, with an archbishop and with the bishops of Deventer and Haarlem. These prelates have always demanded the pope's approbation of their elevation, but the want of this assent (never accorded) has been supplied by an appeal to a General Council. The French Jansenists contributed freely to the necessities of this church, which was their own. The constant persecution which

they had to endure from the Government spread, as commonly occurs, mystic sentiments among them. A Jansenist of ascetic habits, the deacon Pâris, wrought miracles after his death (1727) such as only an orthodox saint could ever perform. The churchyard of St. Médard, where he lay buried, was filled with people of all ranks, with sick persons of the highest nobility and even of the prelacy as well as of the people; and those who went to the grave of the deacon fell into convulsions, and believed that then they were healed. Solemn songs of praise greeted every fresh miracle of the Jansenist saint. Twenty-four pastors of Paris testified to their reality before the archbishop. The very agents of the police became hawkers of the writings in which Pâris was lauded; and they suffered the Jansenists, persecuted by the superior authorities, to slip through their hands. Finally, here again the government adopted a decisive step. In January, 1732, it ordered the churchyard of St. Médard to be closed. On the door soon after was found the following poster: "In the King's name! God is forbidden to do miracles here." The ecclesiastics who had taken part with the 'convulsionnaires' of St. Médard shared the fate of their Jansenist associates, and were banished to remote monasteries. But this persecution raised their exaltation to the height of actual madness. In all the streets of Paris there were houses where, for the honor of their faith and in expiation of their sins, they exposed themselves voluntarily to frightful tortures. It was particularly the women, as is common in such cases, who were attacked by this religious frenzy. It seemed to make the hysterical creatures insensible to all suffering. They placed themselves upon burning coals, they let heavy weights fall upon their abdomens, nailed themselves to the cross, and pierced their sides with swords. Meanwhile they preached and prophesied. All imprisonments and penalties which the authorities might justly inflict on this disorder continued to be without effect. At last the reasonable men among the Jansenists themselves zealously protested against it, and combated the delusion with all possible means. Yet rich and respected councillors of Parlement, like Carré de Montgeron, and an eminent naturalist like La Condamine, testified publicly their full faith in the miracles that had occurred at the grave of Pâris.

If the Jansenists found no favor with Fleury, the Protestants, surely, could as a rule not expect indulgence. However, it must be admitted that Fleury was not at all active himself in this direction; only he did not sufficiently oppose the fanaticism of several bishops

and officials. His mild character did not suffer him, even in matters of faith, to exercise cruelty. He replied fitly to complaints of his too lax observance of the laws directed against heretics: "It is true that an evil example is set when one suffers the king's laws to be evaded or violated; but you will confess that it is not endurable to ruin many families, whose livelihood is completely destroyed if their head is put in prison." The use of Protestant religious services within doors he did not wish to have punished. He permitted some Protestant parents to remove their children from education in Catholicism, but only when they were rich enough to bear the expense. Even the illegal marriages which Protestants concluded without aid from Catholic priests, the minister suffered, "in order to cover up scandals that might cause great injury to the state." Nevertheless, from time to time a reformed pastor who had been recognized in his disguise would be sent to the galleys or be hung, and the goods of some refugees be-seized by the state. The clergy desired measures much sharper and more general, but Fleury could not be induced to adopt them. Under this treatment the number of families that had recently gone over to Romanism, and who now openly went back to their old reformed confession, increased from year to year, especially in the south, and eminently so in that old citadel of theirs, the Cévennes. Notwithstanding the outcry of the priesthood, they were protected, in order not to call forth a second important emigration of this industrious, respectable, and highly useful portion of the population.

It belonged to Fleury's character and ecclesiastical position to endeavor to maintain friendly relations with Rome, and to avoid all contention in that quarter. For that reason he had favored and effected the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus*. On the other hand, he did not contemplate destroying by force those Gallican convictions which prevailed among the population of France, in the priesthood, and especially in the highest judicial authorities. When Pope Benedict XIII. canonized Gregory VII., and enjoined upon Christendom the honoring of this 'Vindicator of Romish liberty,' this combatant of unrighteous state usurpation, the chief parlements of the kingdom forbade under the severest penalties the acceptance and observance of the papal brief. The pontiff, by a new decree, condemned the proceedings, particularly of the Parlement of Paris; whereupon the royal procurator-general himself moved that this Romish document be proscribed, and this was granted without oppo-

sition. Of what aid to the Curia was the theoretical acceptance of the constitution *Unigenitus*, when the public authorities of France accepted not its orders, but the old Gallican heresies?

More violent for the moment was a controversy which broke out in the summer of 1731, and which deeply excited the population of the capital. The parlement had suppressed a pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Paris ; he had taken his revenge by declaring heretical a memoir relating to the affair which was written by the most eminent lawyers. Upon this all the lawyers discontinued their proceedings, and thus prevented all judicial decisions. The parlement joyfully seized upon this occasion to publish its adherence to Gallican principles. In September, 1731, it issued a proclamation of the following purport: “The temporal power comes directly from God ; it alone possesses the ability to inflict the material penalties which impose a restraint upon the king’s subjects. It is not a business of the servants of the church to affix limits to that power. The rescripts of the church do not obtain the validity of law until the assent of the sovereign is obtained, and the servants of the church are responsible to the king and the parlement for every infringement of the ordinances of the state.”

The government had allowed the parlement full liberty of action, as long as it directed itself against individual prelates. But it was not willing to suffer a fundamental declaration which must revive the speculative contention happily ended by the bull *Unigenitus*. The council of state therefore annulled the decree of the parlement above mentioned. Fleury, after his manner, gave full satisfaction to the lawyers, with whom it was not a question of principles ; but he would not allow the parlement to interfere in such critical matters as the relations between the temporal and the spiritual power. When the parlement adhered to its views, he used the young sovereign to express the royal displeasure. One of the most zealous speakers was banished, another imprisoned. Thereupon the majority of the councillors of parlement resigned. The remainder suspended all judicial functions. The minister believed that he could not yield ; on his advice, the king, by a decree of August, 1732, restricted the privileges of parlement, and banished to the provinces not less than 139 of the councillors.

The conflict had thus broken out with the utmost possible keenness. But Fleury was no Richelieu, no Louis XIV. He was confounded when he saw that the public opinion of the capital was

manifesting extreme excitement, and took sides against him in a spirit of exasperation. It pained him most of all, that it even ruthlessly assailed the handsome young king, who hitherto had been its idol; that it pointed to him as a weak and wavering blockhead. Fleury was again possessed by his old desire for peace, and came round to favor the highest courts of justice. A furious ultramontane prelate, Archbishop Forbin-Janson of Aix, who had abused the Parlement of Paris, was banished. After this all the exiled councillors were allowed to come back, and even those also who had given in their resignations were now willingly recalled. The king received a deputation of the parlement most graciously, and ordered that no more be said concerning the decrees of August limiting their jurisdiction (December, 1732). The pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Paris, which was the occasion of the contention, remained suppressed, while the parlement was not required to recall the declaration regarding the limits of ecclesiastical power. It was doubtless a victory of the parlement and of Gallican principles, which abundantly outweighed the acceptance of the constitution *Unigenitus*. Public opinion had shown itself in such force that the government yielded to it more and more. It allowed the parlement, on February 23, 1733, to repeal the famous four propositions of the church council of 1682. The parlement was even permitted to appeal from the bull *Unigenitus* to a future council. All the results, substantially, which the adherents of the constitution had reached with so much labor in the last twenty-five years were again put in question. And it is evident that all these determinations had been adopted in agreement with the court, and that the chancellor and the king's minister of justice had co-operated in them. This was a hard blow for the Curia.

The most zealous champions of the Curia, the Jesuits, had, in truth, become objects of general hatred. Even the ladies of good society, who, for the most part, had been won to the side of Jansenism, agitated against the order of Jesuits, as their principal enemies; all the lower clergy were inimically disposed to the company. Only the majority of the bishops, and the place-hunters among the court abbés, were actively their friends. The scandalous trial of Girard, a Jesuit father, who had led astray one of his female penitents, and, notwithstanding, was acquitted by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and was loaded with honors, excited public opinion to passionate discontent. Slowly, but surely, was preparing the storm

which was to put a temporary end to the existence of the Jesuits, not only in France, but, through her influence, in the whole world.

The Jesuits, and positive religion in general, found a formidable adversary in young Voltaire, who displayed an activity that was constantly increasing in importance.

The fame of Voltaire was based primarily on his great epic poem, *La Henriade*, which, however, after the usual manner of his earlier works, is monarchical and not political. The glorification of the popular French sovereign not only produced a national epic of the first order, but was at the same time an apotheosis of Bourbon royalty. Flattery for the great men of the day, under the form of a vision of his hero, strengthened the impression of the courtly and the correct which is presented in the poem. It is Truth, personified, that inclines Henry IV. to accept the Catholic faith. What, then, is the meaning of the occasional attacks in the poem upon the Jesuits? The aversion to them was shared by all classes, with the exception of a few laymen and ecclesiastics in high places.

An accident inclined Voltaire in another direction, and made of him the apostle of religious and social reform. The Duke of Rohan, whom he had provoked by his keen wit, caused him to be beaten soundly, and, when the poet threatened revenge, to be confined in the Bastille. He was released in a short time, but was banished to England.

This event was in two respects of decisive importance for Voltaire's whole life and work, and, one might say, for the future intellectual development of Europe. Enraged at the lukewarmness which he, the lowly-born, had experienced from his 'friends' of rank in this dispute, he became a moderate enemy of social prerogative. There was opened to him in England a new world of ideas, philosophical and political. He had known Bolingbroke in Paris; and, being now introduced by him into the circle of Pope and Swift, he was filled with the living interest felt by these men in all questions relating to the happiness, freedom, and enlightenment of mankind; while the civil liberty and freedom of thought which he found gave his spirit a bolder and more independent flight. He accepted fully the deistical opinions prevailing among the cultivated people of England; and to establish these, as well as greater social liberty, in his native land, was subsequently his chief endeavor. He took up the contest against injustice and prejudice; while in other respects

he kept himself entirely — in religious, and still more in political, matters — within the bounds of moderation. But in France his activity was of necessity vastly greater than would fall to the lot of a writer in England ; because the attention of the English nation was claimed not so much by literature as by their free political life, while in France the latter had then no existence. Besides, another factor was of consequence. The wide diffusion of the French language over all Europe had this result, that the comprehensive and manifold talent of Voltaire was able to exert an important, attractive, and stimulating influence beyond the bounds of his own country and upon the whole continent. The English philosophy of religion and the English constitution were first made known and made popular on the continent of Europe by French writers.

Even in regard to political conditions the influence of the new literature, as it spread from France over the continent, was much greater than it ever had been in England. The unwonted growth of commerce, the partial favor and the monopoly accorded to it by the governments, had tended to throw capital more and more into the hands of wholesale dealers and money-brokers, who carried on transactions with an abundance of resources such as had formerly been unknown, and who thus obtained for themselves a position of special importance and privilege. On the other hand, in most European countries the nobles still made use of their special prerogatives as plunder to be enjoyed in the coarsest forms of self-indulgence, without recognizing — as in England — that duties grew out of such immunities, and that those duties were to be performed. And thus the masses of the people, and especially the agricultural class, injured in every way, who shared only the burdens and none of the blessings of the state, were constantly sinking more deeply into poverty, coarseness, and dependence. Of a free, self-reliant peasant class nothing was known at that time save in England and Holland. Out of this stern contrast between the few rich and the numerous suffering proletariat, hatred and caste distinctions arose, which the new literature, devoted to the destruction of existing things, cherished in the lower strata of the population, and developed to an extent increasingly perilous.

In the beginning of the year 1729 Voltaire (Fig. 20) received permission to return to France. He had made himself thoroughly master of the English language, and thus had learned to appreciate, at least in part, the greatness of Shakspere. Consequently, he

stroved to impart the greater flexibility of the English to the French drama. He brought with him from exile his tragedy of "Brutus," in which freedom is glorified over against autoocratic monarchy, and which in a manner prepared the way for the new direction of his activity. Yet he at once and with decision attacked the questions



FIG. 20. — Voltaire. (From a copper-plate engraving, 1762, by E. Fiequet; original painting, 1736, by de la Tour.)

of the day. He published a pamphlet, "Folly of Both Sides," in which he ridiculed the superstition of the Jansenist 'convulsionnaires' in no less a degree than the Jesuits' thirst for power. He came out more boldly in his "Ode on Fanaticism." He composed, besides, his biography of Charles XII., rather a historical romance

than a genuine historical work; but at that time, on account of its condemnation of many princeps still living, it appeared as a wonder of candor. The government had little at bottom to object to in the "Charles XII," yet it did not choose to take the responsibility of having officially permitted the publication. Voltaire was obliged to print it secretly.

But all these publications were not to be compared in their religious and political effects with his "Philosophical Letters on the English," which appeared in May, 1734, and at once secured vast consideration. Voltaire's plan was, in substance, to make the French acquainted with the intellectual conditions of England, which at that time were almost wholly unknown to them, notwithstanding their immediate neighborhood and the many friendly and hostile points of contact. But under his keen and ingenious pen this description took the form of an ironical comparison between English and French peculiarities, in which the writer with biting wit scourged the failings of his native land. "In respect to morals," it is said, "the English clergy are stronger than the French. That undefinable being, neither spiritual nor secular, which people by one word call an abbé, is a species unknown in England. The priests here are all cautious, and nearly all pedants. If they hear that in France young persons, who are known by their excesses and are promoted to a bishopric by the intrigues of women, and openly pay homage to love — who devote themselves to composing tender verses, give every day fine and long suppers, and then go to church to implore the illumination of the Holy Spirit — also boldly style themselves successors of the apostles, the English thank God that they are Protestants. The Presbyterians abuse as Babylonian harlots all the churches where a few ecclesiastics are fortunate enough to possess incomes of 50,000 livres, and the people are good-natured enough to suffer that." "An Englishman, as a free man, goes to heaven by the road that pleases him." "If there were in England only one religion, its despotism might be a thing to be dreaded; if there were two, they would cut each other's throats; but there are thirty of them, and they live together peacefully and happily." True, the English clergy receives his lash occasionally, but always only for the purpose of joining with it scourging remarks upon priests in general. "The Anglican ecclesiastics have retained many Catholic usages, and particularly that of collecting the tithes with conscientious regularity. They have also the pious ambition to play the lord;

for what village vicar would not be a pope?" In comparing England with Rome, Voltaire says: "Among the Romans was never known the abominable folly of religious wars. That horror was reserved for the mild preachers of humility and patience." But ever and anon he comes back to the religious tolerance of contemporary Britain. "Step into the London Exchange, a place of more importance than many courts; you see there representatives of all nations assembled for mutual advantage. There the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Christian traffic with one another as if they belonged to the same religion, and they give the name of heretic only to those who commit bankruptey."

But not alone the religious conditions of England were celebrated at the expense of the French; in polities, also, the freedom of the island was commended as being far above the absolutism of his fatherland. "The English people is the only one upon earth which has succeeded in restricting the power of kings by resisting them, and which by constantly repeated efforts has established that wise government in which the prince, all-powerful to accomplish good, is in no condition to do evil, in which the great have influence without usurpation and without subjects, and where the people participate in public affairs without disturbance." "The English constitution," it is said in the comparison with ancient Rome, "is neither destined to the splendor of the latter, nor to its lamentable end: its purpose is not the blinding folly of making conquests, but to prevent its neighbors from making any; this people watches zealously not only over its own liberty, but also over that of others. The English were exasperated with Louis XIV. exclusively because they held him to be ambitious. Assuredly, it was difficult to establish liberty in England. It needed seas of blood to overwhelm the idol of despotic power: but the English believe their laws not to have been purchased too dearly. Finally, we see on the one side Charles I. conquered in open fight, made prisoner, put on trial, condemned in Westminster, and beheaded; and on the other, the Emperor Henry VII. poisoned by his chaplain at supper, Henry III. [of France] stabbed by a monk, thirty attempts made against Henry IV., the last one resulting in robbing France of this great king. Ponder on these attempts at assassination and judge."

Is it not as if Voltaire had wished to call on his nation to rebel for the sake of liberty, after the example of the English?

How much greater is the equality of the classes, how much

better the situation of the lower orders, in England than in France! “In that land there is no one, be he nobleman or priest, who is free from the payment of taxes; all imposts are ordered by the House of Commons, which, although second in rank, is first in power. No one is taxed to a burdensome extent, and no one complains. The countryman’s feet are not clogged by wooden shoes; he eats white bread, is well clothed, does not fear to increase the number of his domestic animals, or to cover his roof with tiles from dread of his taxes being increased the next year. One finds there many peasants who have incomes of from five to six hundred pounds sterling, and who, nevertheless, do not consider it beneath their dignity to continue to cultivate the earth that has enriched them, and on which they live as free men.”

“The astonishing material growth of England is in great part to be ascribed to the absence of the absurd class prejudices of the Continent. In England the younger son of a baron of the realm feels that he is in no way dishonored by trade. While Lord Oxford ruled Great Britain, his younger brother was agent in Aleppo, whence he did not wish to return, and where he died. In Paris, on the contrary, every one who wishes is a marquis, and every one who comes out of his province to Paris, his pocket full of money, and with an ending in *ac* or *ille*, can say, ‘A man like me, a man of my rank,’ and looks down upon the tradesman with the deepest contempt. The business man hears himself spoken of so often with disdain of his calling, that he is silly enough to blush on account of it. And yet I do not know who is more useful to the state, the well-powdered young squire who knows precisely the hours when the king gets up or goes to bed, and who takes on him an air of greatness, while he plays the part of a slave in a minister’s antechamber, or the merchant who enriches his country, sends orders from his counting-room to Surat or Cairo, and contributes to the happiness of the world.”

These were indeed revolutionary ideas, which menaced the constitution and social organization of the France of that day from the very foundation. They have permanently exerted a powerful influence, and have acted with more force upon the subsequent development of that country and of the world than many diplomatic negotiations or noisy battles.

At the same time the “English Letters” combated the entire foundation of the religio-philosophical views of the cultivated and

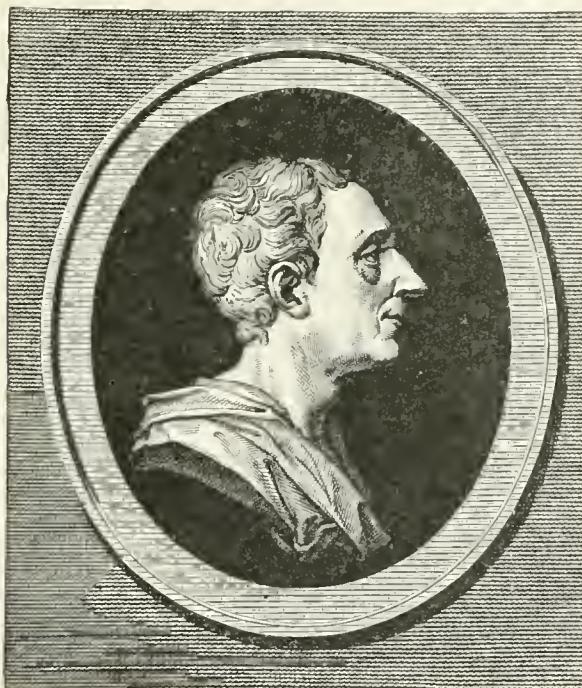
free-thinking minds of France by assailing the spiritual systems of Descartes and Pascal. Voltaire made the French acquainted with the grand discoveries of Newton, and filled the educated classes of the Continent with the habit of thought peculiar to natural science. Thus he powerfully contributed to the spread of that one-sided predilection for the exact sciences which, as we have seen, sets its mark upon the eighteenth century, especially in France. He wished to see the doctrine of Descartes replaced by the system of Bacon, and especially by that of Locke, which is based purely upon actual experience, and denies all possibility of *a priori* knowledge. Thus Voltaire became the disseminator on the Continent of those mechanical theories of Locke which swayed the entire 'philosophy' of Latin Europe in the eighteenth century, and have led to the coarsest and rudest materialism.

But whatever may be the difference of opinion among philosophers, Voltaire thinks they are worthier to rule the minds of men than is the church. "Neither Montaigne nor Locke, neither Bayle nor Spinoza, neither Hobbes nor Shaftesbury, and such like, have ever cast abroad the firebrand of discord in their fatherland; it was theologians, for the most part, who, at first striving to be the heads of sects, thereupon cherished the ambition of becoming the heads of parties. Yes, even more: all the books of philosophers taken together will never make so much noise in the world as has been stirred up by the strife of the Franciscans alone about the form of their sleeves and cowls."

The vast effect produced by "English Letters" is accounted for, apart from their intrinsic merits, by the disposition of men's minds in France. Men were heartily tired of the glittering despotism, the sterile absolutism, and the shameful corruption of morals. A new, better world opened before the eyes of the French, and with zeal they trod the paths which Voltaire had marked out for them in an ingenious and attractive manner. Even pious ecclesiastics like the Abbé Rothelin expressed to him their enthusiastic approbation. But the official circles could not be silent at this denial of all that had hitherto been prized in France. In June, 1734, parliament condemned the aforesaid book to be torn in pieces and burned in the yard of the Palace of Justice, by the hand of the executioner. Fleury, who had stood in personal relations to Voltaire, gave him a hint to leave, in order to escape possible maltreatment. He therefore concealed himself in the castle of his learned and amiable

friend, the Marchioness du Châtelet, the 'Divine Émilie,' at Cirey in Champagne. Here he remained unmolested, thanks to the protection of friends in high places, while his prohibited book was several times secretly reprinted.

The political thoughts defended in the "English Letters" found at this very time in Montesquieu a champion not less important,



*Montesquieu*

FIG. 21.—Montesquieu. (From a copper-plate engraving by Aug. de St. Aubin; original by the same.)

though of an entirely different order, whose "Persian Letters" had already produced the greatest sensation, but who thus far had kept himself hidden behind his *nom de plume*. Charles de Secondat, baron of Montesquieu (Fig. 21), born in 1689 in the château of Brède, near Bordeaux, belonged by descent to the parliamentary nobility of Southern France. In his twenty-fifth year he was already councillor, and two years later was president of the Parlement of Bordeaux.

When the great success of his "Persian Letters" gave him a pledge of his call to be a writer, he determined to surrender his high judicial position for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to the instruction of his nation (1726). With this view he undertook extensive travels through Germany, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. Finally, he came to England, with which he was not less captivated than Voltaire had been. He remained two years in that country. He was in every way honored. Here he divested himself completely of the prejudices and one-sidedness of the French of that day, and, in his investigations into the science of comparative politics, rose to a freedom and greatness hitherto unknown in the consideration of political relations. He had scarcely returned to his paternal castle, when, in 1734, he published — as a matter of prudence, in Holland — his "Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and the Downfall of the Romans." In this work, ingenious, original, and truly philosophical, if not always accurate in historical details, Montesquieu, by the example of the Roman people, wished to instruct all nations, and especially his own fellow-countrymen. He lashed most severely the nefarious means used by despots to destroy man's natural instincts of freedom and of personal dignity. He showed that the much vaunted order of absolute governments is substantially "a permanent servitude. For in a free state, where one establishes despotic rule, all is styled order which furthers the unrestricted power of an individual; while confusion, discord, wretched government, are names bestowed on whatever is able to secure the honorable liberty of the subjects." He laid bare the means employed by absolutism, showing how Caesar doubled the pay of his soldiers, and Caracalla "followed the advice given him by his father on his deathbed, to enrich all connected with the army, and with all others to use little ceremony." He ventured to declare the overthrow of a free constitution a crime worthy of death, and thus to justify the slaying of Caesar. He severely criticized the condition of France when speaking of imperial Rome. "The laborer, the soldier, the merchant, the judge, the noble, form a unity only as long as a part of them oppress the others without resistance; and if in a despotic country one gains a glimpse of unity, it is not citizens that are there united, but dead bodies which are deposited side by side."

But Montesquieu was not content with declamations against tyranny; his historical perceptions were too deep and too comprehen-

sive to permit of his not going to the very foundation. He imputes the responsibility not to individuals; he charges it upon the internal conditions of the peoples themselves. "It is not accident," he says, "that rules the world; that is proved by the Romans, who enjoyed a long course of prosperity so long as they ruled themselves in accordance with a sure plan, and endured an unbroken series of misfortunes when they proceeded in a different course. There exist universal causes, partly moral, partly physical, active in every state to elevate it, to maintain it, or to pull it down. All individual events are subjected to these causes; and if the accident of a battle, denominated a special cause, has ruined a state, there existed a universal cause, by the operation of which that state was necessarily destroyed by a single battle. In a word, the universal development draws after it all individual casualties."

This idea of a history ruled by law, Montesquieu subsequently unfolded more fully in his "Spirit of the Laws" (*L'Esprit des Lois*). He condemns most sharply the greed for glory and conquest on which had been founded the system of absolute monarchy in France since the days of Richelieu. "One perceives still," he exclaims, "in the history of Rome so many warlike enterprises, so much blood spilled, so many peoples destroyed, so many great deeds, so many triumphs, so much statesmanship, sagacity, skill, endurance, and courage; that determination to subdue all, so skilfully devised, matured, and executed; to what end has all this led, but to satisfy the lusts of five or six monsters?" His hatred of Caesar, of his successors, and of Caesarism generally, did not blind him to the greater guilt of the peoples who create and endure such tyrannies. "A prince who follows upon a republic finds himself in possession of the supreme power of a people which knew not how to put restraint upon itself. . . . Even if Caesar and Pompey had thought like Cato, others would have thought as Caesar and Pompey actually did; and so the republic destined to destruction would have been brought low by another hand."

What a great, manly, impressive doctrine, that nations are themselves responsible for their own destinies; that every people, like every individual, is substantially the architect of its own fortune! This summons to self-defence was soon intelligible to all Frenchmen, and did not fail of its effect. They understood that a people that will be free, and is prepared to sacrifice everything for this freedom, is surely able to attain the possession of freedom; and that, on the

other hand, invasion of the rights of the people, oppression, and absolutism can only prosper when the soul of the people is enervated, corrupted, and robbed of all energy and all elevation.

The writings of Montesquieu were not less revolutionary than those of Voltaire; yet the latter and not the former was persecuted. The cause of this diverse treatment was in part the different position of the men. Voltaire, who at that time was still the poor descendant of a simple advocate, had not the right to lift up his voice; while Montesquieu, belonging to a rich, noble, parliamentary family, was himself one of the privileged persons to whom in the France of that day everything was permitted. But there was still another consideration. Voltaire's thoughts are brought forward in an easy, witty, frivolous, popular tone; and consequently his book awakened less respect, on the one hand, while on the other it attained much greater popularity and circulation than that of Montesquieu, which came forward in an earnest, philosophical, and scientific dress.

While France under the mild sway of Fleury appeared to slumber, the first thunderclaps of the fearful tempest resounded, which was destined to arouse the land and to excite it to passionate action and to cause destructive changes. Founded by the Abbé de St. Pierre, there was formed a society, composed of men of learning and statesmen in high positions, styled the *Club de l'Entresol*, which discussed public events, and acquired such an influence that foreign courts sought to act through it upon French polities, until Fleury thought it advisable to dissolve it in 1731.

From the transactions of this society, the first political club in France, there issued "Considerations Concerning the Earlier and the Existing Form of Government in France," by the Marquis d'Argenson. René Louis d'Argenson was the oldest son of a former police-president of Paris. He, too, at an early day entered into the service of the state, and was intendant of the province of Hainaut, in the years 1720-1724. But in the midst of intrigues and of injustice, the petty views and unthinking routine of the official world of that day, René Louis maintained the judgment of a truly philosophical statesmanship. And this is what was meant by the court people when, to distinguish him from his more practical and less thoughtful brother, Marc Pierre, intendant of Paris, and later minister of war, they called him "Argenson the Stupid" (*Argenson la Bête*). In his "Considerations," René Louis, like Vauban before him, gives a gloomy picture of the France of that day, its absolutely un-

natural condition, and its unsound foundations. He sees salvation solely in the energetic and thorough restriction of the monstrous privileges of an usurping nobility, who are exhausting the people, and keeping them separated from their sovereign. The people, therefore, should be intrusted with personal freedom and self-government. A truly democratic kingdom in the best sense, or, as he himself says, 'a republic under the protection of the kingdom,' was before his eyes as an ideal: not, however, the centralized democracy of the Convention, but a communal and provincial self-government, developed almost to excess, and resting upon a democratic basis. In the religious domain unrestricted freedom of conscience ought to prevail. D'Argenson elaborated a complete constitution in accordance with these views. He did not venture to publish his labor; at first it was circulated only in manuscript.

Far more thoroughly and scientifically than Voltaire did Maupertuis make known in France the discoveries and doctrines of Newton. Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis was born in 1699 at St. Malo, in Brittany. He won a seat in the Academy at the age of twenty-four. His inclination to Newton's views induced him, like Voltaire and Montesquieu, to make the pilgrimage to England (1728). Having returned, he combated in several publications the arbitrary and self-contradictory philosophy of Descartes in favor of the theory of gravitation as unfolded by Newton. The correctness of his opinions was completely confirmed at that time by the famous expedition undertaken for the purpose of measuring a degree, in which Maupertuis himself bore a prominent part. Cardinal Fleury also embraced the Newtonian theory.

But Maupertuis was not exclusively a naturalist. He sought to deduce from his views of natural science a philosophico-religious system, for whose construction he availed himself of the writings of Locke. In his "Attempt at a Cosmology," he rejects the arguments of the existence of God founded on his miraculous agency and his all-wise final purpose, and derives the existence of a Creator wholly from the necessity that the movement of the material universe must have a moving principle for its cause: but this principle must possess omniscience and omnipotence, since scientific observation had indisputably evolved the law that nature for every one of its objects employed the least possible expenditure of means. Such were the ideas which until past the middle of the century dominated the French 'philosophy' and its adherents throughout Europe.

Another work by Maupertuis was the "Attempt at a Moral Philosophy." This system was crowned by its doctrine of true happiness, which again consists in the unrestricted love of God and of our neighbor; a view which, in like manner, became the typical theory for the entire eighteenth century.

Even belles-lettres entered into the service of the new ideas, which, like a mighty, surging billow, swept everything along with them. The tragedies of Voltaire really signified only his thoughts on political and religious subjects brought upon the stage. Imitating his example, other poets also, like Prévost and Destouches, went to England in order to learn sounder, simpler, and more natural views and efforts there than those prevailing in the entourage of Louis XIV. One of the most active intermediaries between the English and the French literature was the Abbé Antoine François Prévost d'Exiles (1697–1763). He not only translated English romances in his journal *Le pour et le contre* ("For and Against"), and imitated with success the moralizing periodicals of Addison and his followers, but also his own stories, among which the most important is the *Histoire du chevalier Des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut*, show true and deep sensibility, and a realism such as till that time was unknown in French romantic literature. If this realism is by no means free from stains of extreme pessimism, the author justifies them in good part by reference to the profligate morals of the French court, which it was necessary to represent in exact conformity to nature. It must be remembered that in the indecent tales of Crébillon this naturalism degenerates into caricature. Marivaux, like Prévost, tried to transplant into French soil the instructive and well-meaning virtuous romances of the English, but his attempt was a failure from its lack of artistic form and of self-restraint.

The influence of England upon the dramatic poetry of France appeared most conspicuously in Néricault Destouches (1680–1754). His theory reposes always on English models; his aim was accordingly to delineate manners according to nature, with the conscious purpose of creating moral emotion. In some of his comedies, especially in the "Braggart" (*Le Glorieux*), is more plainly portrayed the conflict between the rising civic order and an order of nobles, who, in the face of such hostility, hold fast only the more stubbornly to their social prerogatives. The emotional middle-class drama was still further developed by Nivelle de la Chausnée (1692–1754). He showed that lofty and affecting tragedy was as truly to be found in

the middle and lower classes as among princes and warlike heroes. These attempts excited the greatest attention and opposition of many kinds; their success effected a literary revolution, which spread to Germany, through Lessing, where it still keeps the stage. The dramatic equality of the third estate came in advance of its political and social equality.

But this, too, was not long in waiting. The administration of Fleury but resembled a truce, during which the assailant is preparing to renew the onset.

## CHAPTER V.

### GERMANY UNDER THE LAST OF THE HAPSBURGS.—THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION.

LITERATURE in Germany was related to social and political life with far less reciprocal action than in England and France. It suffered from the same defect in the first half of the eighteenth century which had already for an entire century set narrow limits to its development; from the fact, namely, that it did not grow out of a uniform life of the people, but exclusively out of the feeling and thinking of a single class — the learned. Therefore it was able to attain neither true naturalness nor popularity; it was unable to exert upon the German nation a refining and strengthening influence. Of sympathy in the general interests of the fatherland there was at that time in Germany next to none. Everywhere great and comprehensive views in reference to political and social relations would have been sought for wellnigh in vain. Rather were people satisfied with a narrow division of classes, with an endless, though gradually less passionate, spinning of fine and unfruitful religious subtleties. Not until later did events occur which aroused all classes of the German people alike; not till influences from abroad acting upon the learned class, who hitherto had been the possessors of the cultivation as well as the erudition of the land, had brought a recognition of universal humanity; not till after this twofold revolution, did a salutary transformation take place in German literature, which led to the grandest results, and finally awakened Germany from the sleep of centuries. In the time of the Emperor Charles VI. there was as yet deep sleep. In the higher circles of society the French language absolutely predominated. As late as 1750 Voltaire could say that in Germany he felt as if he were at home, and that the German language was spoken only to servants and horses. The learned, for their part, preferred to hold fast to Latin. But the people, who were only striving laboriously to rise from the depths of the coarseness and rudeness into which the Thirty Years' War had thrown them, continued to be excluded from every description of literary

influence. Even when writers and poets began to devote themselves to better subjects, they still were without that greater public which first of all they had to draw toward them.

This was gradually effected by means of weekly publications in imitation of the English ones. But in Germany these were connected with the only higher element — the religious — then existing among the people; and it was through this that they sought to secure a wider circle of readers. About the year 1713 such weekly and monthly publications began to make their appearance, particularly in Northern Germany, which was further advanced: and they found such a favorable reception that in the next fifty years more than one hundred and eighty moral periodicals of this kind were established. Their merits in the cultivation of the people were not small. Hundreds and thousands of men learned by them first to read something besides the calendar and catechism. They spread among the unlearned public many kinds of knowledge which would otherwise never have been acquired. They accustomed their readers to reflect upon general questions: they improved and purified German style; in brief, they built the first bridge from literature to the public, and exerted upon both the happiest influence.

The most meritorious among these periodicals that appeared at first was the "Conversations of Artists," published by the literary club which gathered about Bodmer and Breitinger. Here artistic and linguistic subjects were brought into discussion. Still more valuable than the "Conversations of Artists," which soon perished, was the "Patriot," issued by the most considerable and cultivated men of Hamburg. These men, after the English style, formed a club in which they discussed all public interests. Then their labors and discussions appeared in the "Patriot," which was edited with spirit and intelligence, while its dependence upon foreign countries was constantly manifested. It was natural that such relations to England should have influence, especially in Hamburg, a city closely and permanently connected with Great Britain by trade and travel. The poet-senator, Bartholomäus Heinrich Brockes, brought the scholarly poetry of art in connection with the impulses from England. Numerous imitations of Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" and Swift's "Gulliver" were producing their effect upon the popular literature of the Germans.

In opposition to these friends of English literature, there appeared Johann Christoph Gottsched with a decided preference for French

poetry. Born in 1700 at Judithen, near Königsberg, Gottsched fled to Leipsic from the Prussian recruiting officers. The stimulating intellectual life of the University of Leipsic awakened the literary ambition of Gottsched (Fig. 22). He resolved upon nothing



FIG. 22.—Gottsched. From a copper-plate engraving, 1739, by J. M. Bernigeroth (1713–1767); original painting by E. G. Hausmann (died 1778).

less than the thorough reform of German prose and poetry. For this purpose, like many of his predecessors, he devoted himself to the writers of the age of Louis XIV., whom he regarded as the classics of modern times. Thus he is less the creator of a new than the last representative of an old school, which had already outlived its day

in German literature. Among his various writings the "Contributions to the Critical History of the German Language, Poetry, and Eloquence" are the best, and have an absolute value. These retained nothing in common with the moralizing journalism, but were exclusively literary in their contents. In this Gottsched and his friends had the high merit of having set aside forever the bombast of the "Second Silesian School" of poetry. By his pupil Schwabe and several others the "Diversions of Understanding and Wit" were published, which contained dissertations on the most diverse non-political subjects, prose and poetical narratives, and poems of all kinds; but a superior competitor soon arose in Gärtner's "Bremen Contributions." Thus from the moralizing periodical literature there sprang critical and literary productions. By the middle of the eighteenth century wide circles of the people were cultivated to the extent of feeling an interest in that which was written, and for them a more beautiful and blessed day was soon to come.

Gottsched expressed comprehensively his aesthetic views in his "Essays on a Critical Art of Poetry for Germans" (1730). This work is truly valuable as a reaction against the "Second Silesian School," and as a stimulus to reflection upon the philosophy of the beautiful; but in itself the book is really superficial, and rather a step backward from the similar labors of Opitz and Spee. Gottsched declares at the beginning that nature and reason are the sources of the poetic art. He speaks in a cursory way of poetical imagination and creative power; but soon he abandons all other considerations, and adheres only to the reason. Heart and feeling, poetic gifts and enthusiasm, are unnecessary, if one in a just and orderly way numbers the syllables and brings the rhymes together, and has in mind a fine moral aim. Then he is a complete poet. Gottsched praised the French classics as models, not at all discerning their real merits, but criticising them in an entirely formal and roughly external manner. In vain has the attempt been made recently to place Gottsched's shallow pedantry in a favorable light; the approval with which his compendium met during the first two decades after its appearance is to be ascribed to the general preference for the French language in the Germany of that day.

Of a purely negative character, also, is the merit of the dramas by Gottsched and his friends that appeared in the "German Stage," which he edited. These people, who could not write dramas at all, succeeded only in driving the silly and ribald harlequinades

off the German stage. Whatever the Gottsched society itself produced was in the highest degree flat, stupid, and clumsy. Even their translations from the French are mere caricatures of the original. Among all of Gottsched's circle only his wife, Louisa Kul-

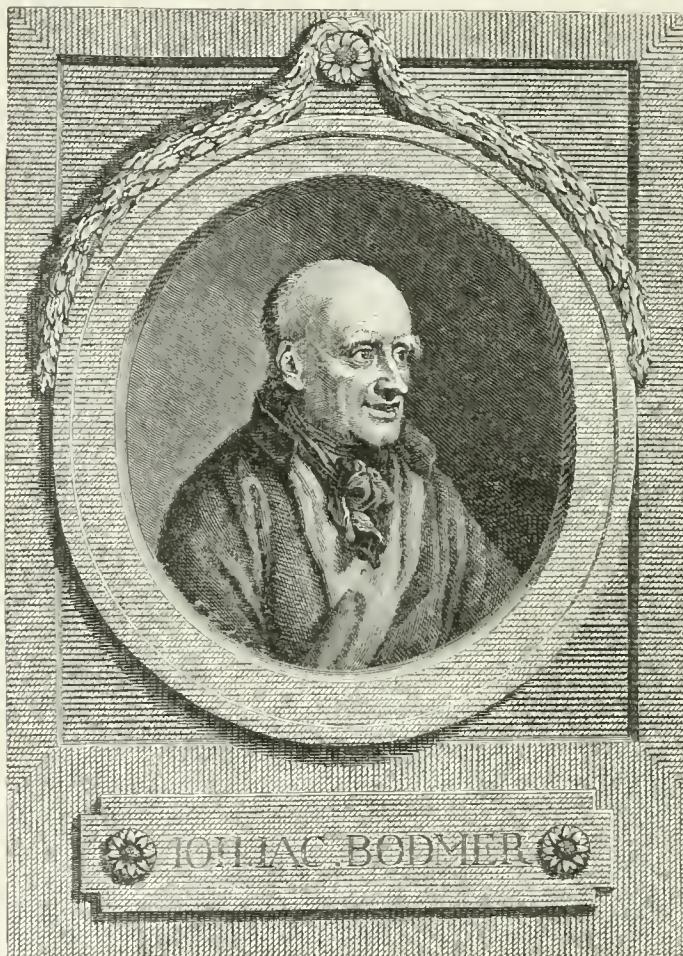


FIG. 23.—Johann Jakob Bodmer. From a copper-plate engraving by J. F. Bause (1738-1814); original painting by A. Graff (1736-1813).

mus, showed in this field wit and originality, at least in comedy, where, with keen and just perceptions, she satirized the weaknesses of her contemporaries. But precisely for this reason she fell out with her husband, whose inflated emptiness she painfully perceived toward the end of her comparatively short life (1713-1762).

With his exclusively Frenchified and rationalizing efforts, Gottsched happily found a spirited opposition to his views in the Zurich writers, Jakob Bodmer (Fig. 23) and Jakob Breitinger (Fig. 24), who had formerly joined him in his contest with the 'Silesians.'



FIG. 24. — Johann Jakob Breitinger. From a drawing by J. Haid (1739-1809); original painting by J. K. Fuessli (1707-1781).

They agreed with Gottsched in the principle that all poetry must proceed from nature, but they pointed out the inconsistency of the former when he derived the excellences of the poet exclusively from the reason. They maintained, on the contrary, and justly, that the poet must possess a power similar to the creative power of nature: and this they styled imagination. The two Swiss were therefore on

the right path, but they failed to reach the end sought. They did not possess the requisite poetical endowment to enable them to work out their theory and introduce it into living practice; and they fell into the error of trying to equalize completely the art of the poet and that of the painter, thereby bringing into the former an utterly incompatible element. However, they had pointed out the right path; and, further, they did not overlook the fact that they were showing to German literature the English as the true model for Germany. Their principles were expressed in Breitinger's "Critical Art of Poetry" (1739); and so the controversy with Gottsched opened. The latter began it by speaking derisively of Bodmer's enthusiasm for Milton.

The Swiss took up the gauntlet thrown to them, and for a whole decade the two parties warred on each other with the greatest animosity. In the beginning of the contest the famous Leipsic professor doubtless had the advantage; but the principle for which his opponents contended was too true, too fruitful, and too national, to allow public opinion not to pass over entirely to the other side. At last Gottsched found himself isolated, forsaken, despised even by his wife. The Swiss were presently replaced by Lessing, — a greater and more original combatant.

Even before that time they could point to poets, who, without participating directly in the contest, conceived of the mission of poetry in accordance with their view. The Bernese, Albrecht von Haller (born 1708), from the study of the great English poets obtained a love for reflection, natural sensibility, and an abhorrence of the "inflated and bloated" manner of Lohenstein, who "swam upon metaphors as if upon thin bubbles."

His famed contemporary, Friedrich von Hagedorn of Hamburg (likewise born in the year 1708), had become great by reason of the same English influence. A four years' residence in London as secretary of the Danish ambassador had almost transformed him into an Englishman. Meanwhile his vivacious and joyous disposition and his pleasing talent did not allow him to lose himself in a melancholic and didactic existence like that which mastered Haller. Hagedorn is rather the poet of an amiable worldly wisdom, of serene contemplation of nature, and of kindly satire. He became the model of later writers, not only in lyric poetry, but also in fables. In these respects he was imitated by the excellent Gellert, who was more popular, though more limited in spirit and perception, and

whose modest but humorous productions have been the instruction and delight of whole generations of the German people. "That is entirely a different man from Gottsched," said Frederick the Great after his interview with Gellert; "he has something so flowing in his verses that I understand it all." Gellert's clear doctrine of virtue and his faith in God constituted for a long time the foundation of moral culture among the Germans.

The entire success of the change accomplished by the three last named poets in German poetry is evident. Even the best of their predecessors seem the remains of a by-gone world. Hagedorn, Haller, and Gellert interest us as contemporaries, as our kindred in spirit and in speech. With them begins the classic period of German poetry.

In philosophical thought also a revolution took place in Germany at this time. This was the work of Christian von Wolf. Born at Breslau in the year 1679, Wolf while yet a young man taught as tutor at Leipsic, and as professor of mathematics and philosophy at Halle. He was a man without genius, and destitute of true originality; but precisely for that reason he impressed himself the more decidedly upon the mass of German cultivated minds of that time, who were not yet ripe for a deeper and more fitting conception of the world, and had to be conducted at first to philosophic thought by less arduous paths. The philosophy expounded by Wolf was in substance that of Leibnitz, but in a higher and more polished form, which was intelligible to the average intellect. From Leibnitz he received the conviction of the all-pervading causal connection of all things, and of the absolute harmony and completeness of the universe, and consequently adopted that fatalistic view which stamps human actions also as absolutely predetermined and necessary. For the Germany of that day, so unaccustomed to reflection, it was fortunate that it was for a time taken into this rigorously logical school, and was wrested from rude unbelief, as well as from mysticism and a literal pietism. Inasmuch as Wolf wrote his more important works in the mother-tongue, whose stock of philosophical words and phrases he enlarged not a little, his writings produced the deepest and most abiding impression.

According to Wolf's firm conviction, theology ought plainly, as being the highest of all sciences, to be subjected first of all to mathematical demonstration. Thus he made it rationalistic and conformable to reason. He became the standard-bearer of the 'Enlight-

enment' (*Aufklärung*), which for more than a century ruled the best minds of Germany. It was he who discovered not only the thing itself, but also the name. Thus to him belonged the great honor of breaking up the method of treatment exclusively based on creeds, which had taken firm root in all circles of Germany, of successfully combating for freedom of thought, and of rendering acceptable to the greater public the application of scientific methods to metaphysical questions. But Wolf was thoroughly a believer in God, for he ever sought to justify his philosophical fatalism by pointing to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. Thus the philosophy of Wolf became for the German 'Enlightenment' a defence against the increasingly materialistic tendency, which, originating in the sensualism of Locke, was seizing upon English and especially French thought. Wolf knew how to connect even the relations of common life with an earnestness of moral consecration and elevation from which the race to whom he spoke had long been estranged. Not wholly without justice did the philosophy of Wolf enjoy for more than a quarter of a century in Germany a canonical authority similar to that of Aristotle in the time of scholasticism.

But this new movement could not but wound the pietism prevailing among the Lutheran theologians. The leaders of the latter movement, the devout and benevolent August Hermann Francke, and also the polemical Joachim Lange, endured with displeasure and anger the constantly widening activity of their colleague, Wolf, at Halle. They aroused King Frederick William I. against him to such a degree, that the irascible sovereign issued the well-known decree of banishment against the philosopher. But the reckless ill-treatment of such a famous learned man excited the greatest attention throughout Germany. A literature of incalculable extent sprang up on both sides, in which the adherents of the philosopher clearly had the advantage. The universities of Leipsic and Marburg contended for the honor of numbering the great teacher among their professors. Peter the Great sought to draw him to Russia. Wolf decided in favor of Marburg, where the Hessian government proffered him extraordinarily attractive conditions. But it must have been the very greatest satisfaction to Wolf when his admirers in the court of Frederick William I. so changed the sentiments of the king, that ten years later he invited the professor, who had been expelled as a criminal, to return to Halle. This invitation was given in the most flattering manner, and his writings were expressly commended to

theological candidates. Seldom has the power of ideas over rude force so splendidly and triumphantly maintained itself. But Wolf did not trust the despotic disposition of the sovereign; and it was not until after the king's death that he entered Halle again, where he was received with princely honors, created a baron of the realm, and covered with all imaginable distinctions. He died in the year 1754. The former Saxon Minister of State, von Manteuffel, had already founded an association of Alethophiles (Truth-lovers) of the Wolfian philosophy), and spread it by branch unions over North Germany. However, it soon disappeared, being merged into Freemasonry, which was then making progress in Germany.

Even Protestant theology, in which liberal faith and pietism were still combating each other, experienced gradually the influence of the system of Wolf, which produced a rationalistic tendency. The first Protestant teacher to advocate his views was Sigmund Jakob Baumgarten, professor of dogmatics at Halle. But the younger theologians, especially in North Germany, were almost universally filled with the spirit of Wolf's philosophy. This tendency was strengthened and diffused more widely by the influence of the English deists, whose writings were translated into German, and largely read by theologians and laymen.

While philosophy and theology were thus undergoing an active development, and were beginning the 'age of enlightenment' in Germany, art and science were in a bad condition. As in manufacturing industries and in commerce, so also in those departments, Germany was inferior to the great western states. In the formative arts there prevailed the French pedantic style and something of the Italian mannerism. To be sure, the capital of every province had its academy of art, but in every place the directors were Frenchmen. The greatest centre of German art was Dresden. Here arose, in 1711, the Zwinger, in the most luxuriant roccoco style, together with the Catholic church, built after good Italian models. Here was constructed, in a laborious contest with envious foreigners, by Georg Bähr, the only great German architect of his time, the nobly proportioned and imposing Frauen-Kirche, in the best manner of the Italian Renaissance. Squares and gardens were peopled with a host of statues, all in the bad taste of the French style. Outside of Saxony there were erected princely pleasure castles in the French roccoco style, with extensive gardens in the artificial manner of Versailles.

German art seemed to be destined to complete extinction. But it was saved by the Saxon princes of the Augustus family. By collecting in Dresden some of the most glorious works of ancient sculptors, and some of the most beautiful paintings of the Italian 'Cinquecento,' they gave the impulse to a new artistic development, whose fruits were not, however, to be ripened until the following epoch.

That which was more independent and permanent was accomplished at that time in music. Indeed, at the courts of Vienna and Dresden, where music was passionately fostered by the sovereigns themselves, and at other princely courts, the Italian style prevailed absolutely. But there sprang up, besides, an intrinsically German movement in music. This first appeared in Johann Sebastian Bach. Born at Eisenach, in 1685, he became the musical director of the school of St. Thomas at Leipsic, and died in 1750. His contemporaries esteemed him chiefly as a distinguished performer on the organ and pianoforte, as well as for his admirable mastery of counterpoint. His greatness as a composer, together with a consummate ability in polyphonic treatment, inexhaustible fancy, lofty elevation and depth of feeling, was first appreciated by posterity. A spirit resembling his in many relations was George Frederick Handel (1685–1759), who, as is well known, after he reached manhood lived and wrote in England. Of little significance in his operas, Handel obtained immortality in the form of art created by him, in his oratorios, in which enthusiastic religious emotions and all noble 'passions of a strong and truly manly soul attained their fullest expression. At that time Germany began to grasp the musical sceptre, which she has never since suffered to drop from her hands.

Among the sciences mathematics flourished exclusively. Jean Bernoulli of Basel, a pupil of the great Cassini, aided Leibnitz in the development of the integral and exponential calculus, and labored with no less success in physics and physiology. Of yet greater importance was his pupil Leonhard Euler (Fig. 25) (1707–1783), likewise a native of Basel, whose labors, however, were performed chiefly in St. Petersburg and Berlin. Among his numerous mathematical writings is prominent his "Mechanics," published in 1736, in our day still a classic on account of its thorough character. Also in astronomy and physics he reached great and permanent results.

The majority of Germans were utterly deficient in a sense for historical events, and therefore the historical sciences were in a

most lamentable condition. History formed only a branch of the dry and unfruitful scholastic erudition then taught at the universities. For the most part it was studied with exclusive reference to law, and especially the interpretation of public law. The approach of a better epoch was announced by two men only, Johann Jakob Maseov, professor at Leipsic, and Heinrich, Count Bünan. The former, in the "History of the Teutons," already adopted a patriotic point of view, and wrote in readable language: while Bünan, in his "History of the Emperor Frederick I.," and in his "History of the German Empire," with statesmanlike penetration, and on the basis of a comprehensive and very thorough study of original authorities, built up works of intelligence and value. Not more pleasing than in history was the condition of the kindred science of philology. Greek was almost entirely forgotten, and at the most was only used for the mechanical understanding of the New Testament. Thus men refused to draw from the purest and noblest sources of ancient spiritual life. That this should occur we readily understand if we observe that the study of the Latin classics was not valued in general on account of their contents, but was directed solely to the form. In the high schools only the writing of Latin and the speaking of Latin were required. But as everywhere in the Germany of that day, amid the rubbish of a gloomy past and present, the germs of a beautiful future could be discerned. But finally there rose up among the hair-splitting, pedantic philologists, Johann Matthias Gesner (1691-1761), who, inspired by the English Bentley, was the first once more to lay emphasis upon the thorough understanding of the contents and artistic form of the classics, and justly and happily interpreted them. In the schools of that day no attention was paid to the despised mother-tongue. Even students of theology were not capable of composing letters correct in orthography and grammar. The formation of the ability to think was wholly neglected in the schools. Such a training, in truth, could produce only narrow-hearted pedants. At home the children, both boys and girls, were flogged for all youthful misdemeanors. From infancy children were



FIG. 25.—Leonhard Euler. From a medal (original size).

treated unnaturally and with rough compulsion. Yet in schools we may discover the dawn of improvement. This was effected by Locke's writings upon education, his rational methods being introduced into some institutions, particularly into those of Francke at Halle.

The political sciences were not better off than history. In the first half of the eighteenth century they were confined chiefly to the



FIG. 26. — Johann Jakob Moser.

discussion of concrete questions of imperial law. But here appeared the salutary activity of Johann Jakob Moser (Fig. 26), who not unjustly has been styled the father of German public law. This scholar and statesman published, shortly after the close of his thirtieth year, his very famous and important work, "German Public Law," the first fundamental and systematic presentation of the ancient legal system of the Empire.

Germany had remained behind France and England in industry, trade, and national life, and not less so in literature, science, art, and education; but through the influences proceeding from those countries a freer and more vigorous life was gradually beginning to appear. Amid narrow and trivial impulses, the German people was for a long time preparing to receive a splendid literary development, and through that the unfolding of a national life. Industry and trade in the domains of the princes were taking the place of utter want and ruin. Everything seemed to be improving in Germany. More prosperity and more refined manners were spreading. The fool vanished from the court as well as from the theatre. Imitation of the French had in these respects exerted an admirable influence. Germans could no longer be considered barbarians by their western and southern neighbors.

The least advance was in the special political sphere, which still was lying under the bondage of all the fetters and wrongs of the sad past. The life of the community fell into a stagnation that increased more and more. Where the petty princes had not made their officials lords of the city community, the people were plundered in an outrageous manner, to benefit the oligarchical magistracy. In the country, only a few districts of the northwest retained the right of the peasants to elect men for the higher offices. The town was no more a living part of the state organism, but only a bearer of certain obligations laid upon it by the central administration. Communal freedom and independence were known neither to burgher nor peasant.

In the imperial cities conditions were no better. These small republics could no longer meet the demands made on them by their own community and the state. Moreover, they were more and more oppressed by the great territories of the princes which surrounded them. Only Hamburg and Bremen were supported by their trade at sea, and Frankfort by the fairs; but how lamentably had Cologne, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm fallen off in the number of their inhabitants and in wealth. The few patrician families which had acquired possession of power made use of the same the more unrestrainedly and oppressively that they combined the jurisdiction of the commune with that belonging to the lords of the soil, and by means of their constitution as a corporation were relieved from personal responsibility. The burgher of an imperial city was not less the slave of his gracious lords, the mayor and councils, than the Thuringian or Hessian of his duke or landgrave.

The princes sought, if only for fiscal reasons, to improve the industry and the trade of their cities. Their efforts would have been of more consequence had not the tolls which every baron of the realm was at liberty to impose constituted a hindrance to intercourse that was hard to be overcome. From Strasburg to the borders of Holland, there were upon the Rhine no less than thirty custom-houses. In addition to costs in money, the loss of time which these customs caused bore heavily upon navigation. They increased the freight charges upon the more necessary articles: as, for example, on grain, so that it became impossible to transport it to a distance. It was no better upon the other great waterways. On the Main, there were thirty-three tolls: on the Elbe, thirty-five: on the Weser, nineteen. Hardly less was the inconvenience caused in regard to navigation by the right to control certain staples that belonged to many cities, and by monopolies enjoyed by different guilds of seamen. The greed of the small potentates, and the selfishness of prominent corporations, inflicted the most serious injuries on general interests. The unity of the empire and the nation was as yet only a mere sound. The more powerful territories engaged independently in European polities, and suffered no interference by the emperor or by the imperial authorities. Of this a very instructive example is furnished by the occurrences in Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

Duke Charles Leopold, who had come to the government in 1713, followed the general absolutist bent of the time in striving to put an end to the chartered privileges of the city of Rostock. When the city, in opposition to his course, obtained from the Aulic Council a prohibition, the duke ordered soldiers to march into the town, imposed a fine of four thousand florins, imprisoned the mayor and many councillors, and laid claim to the property and government of Rostock. The Schwerin knights came forward in behalf of the city; and on their application the Aulic Council, in 1716, commissioned the Brunswick princes to restore by force the former conditions in Mecklenburg. Charles Leopold answered these mandates by levying 16,000 soldiers, expelling the leaders of the knights, and sequestering their property. At last the Hanoverians advanced into his country. The duke, confiding in his relation to the czar, withdrew to his fortress of Dömitz. Finally, he was formally removed; and the rule was intrusted to his brother, Christian Louis. Next the Hanoverians and Brunswickers demanded to be reimbursed for the costs of the execution. Christian Louis was ruined; and now

Charles Leopold raised troops, with the help of Russian gold, and regained possession of the fortress of Dömitz. Thus everywhere disorder and confusion prevailed, but the death of the restless duke (1747) put an end to a strife that had lasted more than thirty years.

The internal welfare of Germany was still constantly and chiefly disturbed by religious difficulties. They broke out anew in the Palatinate. In 1705, principally in consequence of Brandenburg's interference, the Catholic sovereign of the Palatinate had given to his Reformed and Latheran subjects the most positive assurances of safety by the Düsseldorf · Declaration of Religion.' But the new elector, Charles Philip (1716–1742), the last of the Neuburg line, regarded himself as not bound by the promises of his predecessor. Persuaded by the Jesuits, he began a fresh series of persecutions. He commanded that every one should kneel to the host when borne along in the street, and he wretched goods and churches from the Protestants to confer them upon the partners of his faith. His conduct irritated the Reformed courts of London, Berlin, and Cassel in the highest degree. They therefore not only induced the *Corpus Evangelicorum* at the Diet of Ratisbon to make speedy representations, but also began to shut up different Catholic churches and monasteries in their several countries. The emperor had to compel the Elector Palatine to rescind his prohibition of the Heidelberg Catechism, and to restore the Heidelberg court-church to the Protestants. Charles Philip, in 1720, changed his residence from Heidelberg to Mannheim. But in the Palatinate the intolerable strifes between Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed were nevertheless continued without intermission.

The archbishop of Salzburg was able to proceed with his Protestant subjects in a more arbitrary manner. In that country the doctrine of Luther had found admission in the very first decades of the Reformation, and had quietly maintained itself, notwithstanding all oppressions and occasional persecutions. Leopold Anton, baron of Firmian, took possession of the archiepiscopal see in 1727, but committed the government to his court-chancellor von Räll, a zealous pupil of the Jesuits, who easily persuaded his lord to re-establish unity of faith in his territory. This was attempted at first by mission sermons; these, however, bore little fruit, whereupon force was used against the peasants. They refused to go over to the Catholic faith, and demanded the right of emigration in accordance with the Peace of Westphalia; that is, to retire with their wives and children,

as well as the proceeds of their sold goods. Thereupon the *Corpus Evangelicorum* took up their cause with energy (1730). The firmness of these poor unlearned men is the more worthy of admiration, since they really had very defective views of the Lutheran doctrines. The Emperor Charles VI. showed on this occasion the full force of his bigotry, which was increased by the apprehension of seeing the example of the Salzburgers spreading among the neighboring Tyrolese valleys. Without calling in question the undoubted rights of the Protestants, he ordered 6000 soldiers to march into the archbishopric. These immediately arrested seventy leaders, and menaced and ill-treated the others (September, 1731). Finally the emperor and archbishop yielded to the representations of the Evangelical states of the empire, and especially to their declaration of reprisal, so that the latter granted to his Lutheran subjects permission to depart, allowing, however, a much shorter space of time than the Treaty of Westphalia had stipulated for the disposal of their immovable property. In the first year (1731-1732) 22,000 removed, and these were followed the next year by 8000 more. Everywhere they found the most friendly reception, even among Catholics and Jews. Food, clothing, spiritual consolation, were given them. Most of them went to the Prussian states, to which King Frederick William I. had urgently invited them, with a liberality seldom shown by him, in order to provide shelter for them in different parts of his dominions and especially in East Prussia. The archbishop of Salzburg was even obliged to allow a Prussian commissioner to sell the farms of those leaving the country, for which 4,000,000 florins were received, and made over to them.

The commotion produced throughout Germany by the occurrences in Salzburg gave rise to stormy scenes in the immediately adjoining imperial province of Berchtesgaden. In the year 1732 several thousands of the inhabitants, who had hitherto passed for Catholics, suddenly declared themselves Lutherans, and demanded permission to leave the country. This was obtained for them by the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, and the greater part of them went to Prussia and a smaller number to Hanover.

In most honorable contrast to such ecclesiastical princes stands the noble and liberal-minded elector-archbishop of Mayence, Lothair Francis of Schönborn, who in the thirty-four years of his rule (1695-1729) established in his dominions many beneficial regulations, without anxious regard to position or confession. Lothair

Francis was the first of those enlightened princes of the church who became so characteristic and significant during the second half of the eighteenth century, and who appeared to give promise of the complete disappearance of religious strife.

But just at that time there was danger that the religious wrangling would be kept alive, because again, as in the Palatinate and in Saxony, a Catholic prince had become the ruler in a Protestant country. When, in 1733, after a life of excesses, Duke Eberhard Louis of Würtemberg died, Duke Charles Alexander became ruler. In order to rise more easily in the imperial military service, he passed over to Catholicism. The new sovereign, indeed, did nothing that could justify the anxiety of his subjects. However, the immense debts into which the vicious courses of his predecessor had plunged the public treasury demanded a series of financial operations that were very oppressive to the Würtembergers; and it did not conduce to the prince's popularity that a skilful Jewish financier, Joseph Süss Oppenheimer, 'the Jew Süss,' was appointed to this office. Together with many unjust and tyrannical measures, such as accorded with the spirit of finance at that time, Süss also established many good regulations. But when once the author was hated, dissatisfaction was excited against the good no less than against the bad. Süss and his Christian dependents enriched themselves in shameless ways, and led a luxurious and dissolute life. The people of Würtemberg were firmly convinced that the florins extorted from them were to serve for the forcible overthrow of the religion of the country, as well of its constitution. They all breathed anew when Charles Alexander died of apoplexy, in March, 1737. He left behind him a young son, on whose behalf a Lutheran relative assumed the government. The projects which Charles Alexander was thought to have cherished of course fell to the ground. But at last revenge fell exclusively on the Jew Süss, who perished on the gallows.

While the Christian confessions strove with one another less violently than in former centuries, while, on the other hand, rationalism threatened to assail them internally and break them up, a nobleman who was neither theologian nor scholar succeeded in establishing a new mysticism. Nikolaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, born at Dresden in the year 1700, grew up as Spener's god-child, full of enthusiasm for pietism. He devoted himself wholly to religious thought and practices. The fanatical life of the Moravian Brethren pleased him entirely; and in 1722 he invited a number of the perse-

cuted sectaries to his estate, Berthelsdorf, in Lusatia, where they founded the colony of Herrnhut. Five years later Zinzendorf organized his Herrnhut protégés into a separate community. He laid as its foundation the doctrine of redemption by the Saviour, which was not to be grasped and explained by the understanding, but felt by the heart. The expiatory death of Christ, his wounds and suffering, and the marriage of the community with Christ, were depicted in a manner that cannot be excused from the charge of gross sensuousness and unhealthy sentimentality. With the aid of eminent connections, including a Berlin court-preacher, Zinzendorf secured from King Frederick William permission to be consecrated, in Berlin, bishop of the Moravian Brethren. Zinzendorf was indefatigably active; and even in his lifetime communities of the brethren were established in the different Protestant countries of Germany, as well as in Denmark, Holland, England, and Livonia: in the West Indies, Greenland, at the Cape, in the East Indies, and in the English colonies of North America. Everywhere these pious and honorable men have quietly accomplished much good.

Next to Prussia and Saxony, the largest Protestant division of the empire was the electorate of Brunswick, or modern Hanover. It had experienced the most signal elevation under George Louis (1698-1727), whom we already know as the first king of England of the Guelf line. On the extinction of the Celle line (1705), he had united to his possessions the entire country of Lüneburg. In the war with Charles XII. of Sweden he had acquired the rich duchies of Bremen and Verden. The union of Hanover with England had indeed this injurious consequence for the former, that in the almost constant absence of the sovereign the self-seeking nobility arrogated to itself the control of the government, and repressed all the other elements that constitute a state. But, on the other hand, Hanover derived considerable advantage from the union in political-commercial transactions and in intellectual matters. It found in England the best customer for the surplus of its agricultural products: while the flourishing industries of Great Britain, which were constantly increasing, furnished in return to the electorate manufactured products of all kinds. The close and permanent connection with the richly developed and thoroughly cultivated English nation, which even in political relations stood at the head of Europe, generated in the higher classes of Hanover a refinement in the tone of society, a breadth of view, a craving for solid

cultivation, such as at that time were elsewhere unknown in Germany. A signal proof of the spirit then ruling in Hanover was furnished by the founding of the university of Göttingen, in the year 1737. It was established on a large scale, and intended to be the central point of the studies of Protestant Germany. This aim was reached soon after its foundation; and inasmuch as the Hanoverian government had established the university to draw the most eminent learned men to Göttingen, it quickly surpassed all other of the higher institutions of Germany.

Without doubt Hanover, with the aid of the powerful auxiliary which it possessed in England, would have exerted a still more important influence on German relations, had it not been under George II. (1727–1760), the successor of George Louis, constantly and bitterly at odds with Prussia. The two brothers-in-law, George II. and Frederick William I., did not thoroughly love each other. The arrogance with which the former, as the sovereign of a great power, looked down upon the weaker Frederick William, was in no small degree provoking to the latter. The withdrawal of Prussia from the League of Hanover widened the breach; and the disagreeable, and even violent, manner in which George wished to force upon the Prussian king's children English princes and princesses rendered the relationship intolerable. War almost resulted, when, in the year 1729, Prussian recruiting-officers seized upon Hanoverian subjects, and George retaliated. At first Frederick William foamed in wild rage, and mobilized his regiments; but his dread of war restrained him, and the peace was kept. Nevertheless, the opposition remained, and increased in bitterness. This was the more important, since the quiet into which Germany and Europe had sunk from the beginning of Fleury's administration was soon to be interrupted by the struggle for the Polish throne.

King Augustus II. cherished no desire more warmly than to obtain for his son, the electoral prince, Frederick Augustus, the succession in Poland. Since the king was altogether destitute of his subjects' affection, he needed for his plans the aid of the adjoining countries; and here he met with the most spirited resistance. King Frederick William of Prussia feared in the electorate of Saxony the constant rival and opponent of the Hohenzollerns, and desired to secure for a Polish nobleman the throne of his native land. Scarcely less inimical to Saxony was the position of the imperial court, because Saxony had been opposed to the acceptance

of the Pragmatic Sanction in the diet. But still more averse was Austria to the candidate of the popular party among the Poles, the former King Stanislaus Leszczynski, because he had become the father-in-law of Louis XV., and his elevation to the throne of Poland would involve its absolute subjection to the influence of France. Finally, Russia would hear nothing of Stanislaus. Now, it was very apparent that the majority of Polish electors throughout the country would vote for Leszczynski; but this was unhesitatingly disregarded by the three powers. It could be foreseen that France, also, would come forward to support the nearly allied Stanislaus. Meanwhile it was believed that she would act wholly by diplomatic means, which, however, the powers decided not to heed. They were persuaded that under no circumstances would Cardinal Fleury draw the sword. This erroneous conception had unhappy consequences for Austria.

From such a standpoint a treaty was framed, which was concluded at Berlin in December, 1732, by the representatives of Russia and Austria, General Löwenwolde and Count Seckendorf, with the Prussian ministers. It pledged the three powers, on the death of Augustus II., to secure the throne of Poland to a wholly disinterested prince, the Infant Dom Emanuel of Portugal. To reward Prussia's co-operation a young Prussian prince was to obtain the succession in Courland on the extinction of the ducal house. But this strengthening of the Brandenburg house was altogether displeasing to the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, and they declined to ratify the Löwenwolde treaty. The emperor thought that Prussia would be on his side under any conditions, but here, again, he was deceived.

A few weeks after the negotiations the question of the Polish succession became a burning issue, by the sudden death of King Augustus II., on February 1, 1733. France was determined to bring about the election of Leszczynski. However peaceful and economical Fleury was, a patent defeat of this description, such as the setting aside of a king chosen by the majority of the Polish nation, simply because he was the brother-in-law of the French monarch, he dared not concede. Besides, Fleury was urged on by the indignant public opinion of France and by the young sovereign himself. There was another consideration, which likewise had an influence on the side of war. For a long time France had coveted the possession of the duchy of Lorraine. She had already acquired im-

portant portions of it in 1552, as well as under Richelieu and Louis XIV.; but Austria now desired to secure the greater part of the remainder by the contemplated marriage of the young Duke Francis Stephen with the Archduchess Maria Theresa. The government of Versailles was bent on using the Polish question to force Austria to abandon Lorraine. But Russia and the emperor announced that they would execute the Löwenwolde treaty, in so far as it referred to the Polish throne. The former power ordered troops to advance to the frontiers. The emperor continued to believe that Fleury would do nothing beyond words.

The court of Vienna knew well that there could be no serious talk of Dom Emanuel, and therefore it began to incline to the choice of the young Elector of Saxony. This man, not being a dangerous person, willingly met the views of the emperor, by surrendering his pretensions to the Austrian inheritance, and by pledging himself to support the Pragmatic Sanction. With the promise not to oppose the designs of the Russian government upon the Polish feudal duchy of Courland, the Elector Frederick Augustus II. also won over Russia. The Austrian troops were assembled in Silesia in order, if necessary, to aid the Russians in elevating the Saxon to the Polish throne. Now it was thought there was no more need of Prussia. When Prussia demanded, as the price of her co-operation, at least a resignation on the part of Saxony of her claims on Jülich, her demand was scornfully rejected at Dresden as well as at the imperial court.

In vain did the judicious Prince Eugene resist a policy which is to be characterized as insane. France had 120,000 men ready to march, and Spain and Sardinia burned with desire to achieve conquests at her side. England and Holland, for whose alliance Austria had made such great sacrifices, now left that country to her fate. The cabinet of Vienna, which intended to deceive all the others, was itself deceived by Russia and Saxony, who completely obtained their objects, and allowed Austria to pay the costs.

Matters were rapidly pressed to a decision. Stanislaus Leszczynski was brought by a French fleet to Poland, and actually chosen king at Warsaw on September 12, 1733. To be sure, the Russian fieldmarshal, Lacy, arrived with 50,000 soldiers, caused Augustus III. to be proclaimed king on October 5, and then drove Stanislaus as far as the walls of Dantzig. But what did that profit the emperor, when, blow following blow, France, Spain, and Sardinia

declared war in October, 1733? The French, under Marshal Berwick, immediately occupied Lorraine, crossed the Rhine, invested and took Kehl. At the same time a Franco-Sardinian army, commanded by Villars, advanced into the duchy of Milan, which was almost completely evacuated by the weak imperial army. True, the emperor in the beginning of the year 1734 brought about a declaration of war by the empire against France; but the more powerful states declined to furnish any aid to the imperial forces, except Prussia, who sent her contingent of 10,000 men to the Rhine. Prince Eugene, the imperial commander-in-chief, was by far too cautious and dilatory. He could not prevent Berwick from crossing the Rhine a second time, and from capturing the imperial fortress of Philippsburg (July, 1734).

The commanding generals on both sides — Eugene and Daun, Berwick and Villars — were relics of the War of the Spanish Succession, enfeebled in mind and body by age. But the French and allied forces were stronger and sounder than their commanders, while the imperial troops were yet more decrepit and feeble than their commanding officers. In Italy Field-Marshal Mercy was defeated and slain by the Franco-Sardinians at Parma. His successor, Königsegg, was completely vanquished at Guastalla. With unparalleled rapidity the destruction of the imperial supremacy in Naples and Sicily was effected. Here the nobility were everywhere inclined to Spain, because they were largely descended from Spaniards, and because they were allied to them by marriage. The numerous clergy, who everywhere possessed great influence over the superstitions inhabitants of the south, declared in favor of Madrid, since the Curia was plainly inclined that way. Advocates and officials, by whose rapacity the Spanish arbitrary rule was regarded as a golden age, and its return longed for, were active in the same direction. On the other hand, the imperial viceroy, Field-Marshal Count Caraffa, manifested an extraordinary incapacity. He neglected every serious defensive measure, and gave his entire confidence to the Duke of Bovino, a traitor, who reported everything of importance to Madrid, and gave to the viceroy the most pernicious counsels. Under such circumstances, in the spring of the year 1734 the kingdom underwent the attack of 16,600 Spaniards, commanded by the veteran Count Montemar. The imperialists brought together only 6200 men, who were beaten at Bitonto, and nearly all made prisoners. After this overthrow the mainland and the island surrendered to



# Le Roy Stanislas

Fig. 27.—King Stanislaus Leszczynski. From a copper-plate engraving by N. de L'Isle.

Don Carlos of Parma, oldest son of Elizabeth Farnese, who had already in May been proclaimed king of the Two Sicilies. Only Capua was defended seven months longer by the brave Count Traun. He was then compelled to capitulate.

Prussia and Saxony had meanwhile completely attained their object. With 30,000 Russians, in January, 1734, General Münnich had shut up the poor 'King' Stanislaus (Fig. 27) in Dantzie. In vain did he look for aid from France. La Peyronse, with 1500 men, contended a few months longer against the immensely superior force of Russia; in June, however, he was obliged to capitulate, being allowed to depart unmolested. Stanislaus fled to Königsberg, disguised as a mechanic, his Polish kingdom lost a second time and forever.

Now the Russians felt the obligation to come to the assistance of their ally, the emperor; but what they did was more apparent than real. For when the Russian corps appeared on the Rhine, it was only 13,000 strong. Prince Eugene earnestly counselled his sovereign to make peace at any price, so as to save, at least, the German hereditary possessions for his daughter. Fortunately for Charles and for South Germany, Fleury was sufficiently inclined to peace to continue the war no longer than was demanded by the honor of France and his obligations to Spain. He secretly sent la Baume to Vienna as negotiator, who subscribed in that city preliminaries of peace, on October 3, 1735, with the imperial minister, Count Sinzendorf. These Viennese preliminaries delivered over to Don Carlos the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and also several places on the coast of Tuscany; in return he ceded the duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the emperor. The king of Sardinia was to return the larger part of the duchy of Milan to Austria, and retained only the districts of Novara and Vigevano. The Duke of Lorraine, after the death of the present possessor, the last of the Medici, was to receive the grand duchy of Tuscany: but in return for this, Lorraine and Bar were to be immediately ceded to King Stanislaus Leszczynski, after whose decease they were to be united to France. When Francis of Lorraine, who was a suitor for the hand of the rich heiress Maria Theresa, declined to make the sacrifice of his hereditary lands, the imperial minister Bartenstein said to him, "No cession, no archduchess." For all his losses the emperor was indemnified by the recognition of Augustus III. as king of Poland, and by the unconditional pledge, made also by France and Spain, to support the Prag-

matic Sanction. The final treaty of peace was not signed till the year 1738, at Vienna.

The greatest gainer by this peace was the most dissatisfied with it, namely, Queen Elizabeth of Spain, who was indignant that Don Carlos, in return for his great and splendid acquisitions, was obliged to resign Parma. Not till the Spaniards had suffered several defeats at the hands of the imperialists did Philip V. accept the preliminaries of the Treaty of Vienna.

Fleury had conducted this war in a masterly manner. The honor of France had been maintained by a series of victorious campaigns, and her fallen influence had again become strong. With justice could Frederick of Prussia remark soon afterward, that without consent of the Most Christian King a cannon would not dare to be fired. France had again become the preponderant power; now, as under Louis XIV., her rivals, England and Austria, were far behind. Every suspicion of weakness was removed by France through the highly honorable satisfaction which Stanislaus received by obtaining the splendid country of Lorraine; and at the same time Lorraine was ultimately secured to France, and formed a bulwark against the empire. The supremacy exercised by the Hapsburgs for three hundred and fifty years over Italy was completely destroyed by the delivery of Naples and Sicily to a Bourbon. In this manner had Fleury, by stopping short in the midst of victory, acquired the credit of moderation, and had so arranged matters that he became the emperor's friend and counsellor. Fleury was now universally popular in France. "He keeps house well," said his contemporary Barbier; "his finances have never been in better condition." "By means of him the king, who has much money, has become the lord and arbiter of Europe. All France fears his death as a real loss, since the government is great, judicious, and mild."

Exactly opposite were the results which Austria had reaped from the War of the Polish Succession. For the sake of having placed the really unfriendly Saxon on the throne of Poland, the emperor had lost the half of Italy. Of what profit was it to him that Parma bordered on Lombardy, and was thereby rendered easier of defence than Naples and Sicily, since it was so insignificant in extent and in population? He had lost those kingdoms to that same detested branch of the Bourbons which had already deprived him of the Spanish peninsula, the ancient inheritance of his house. At the same time the French Bourbons had seized upon Lorraine, which

for a hundred years had remained faithful to the House of Austria. But far worse than all this was the evidence of a deep disorder and weakness which the war had brought to light in the imperial state, whose boundless humiliation was the contempt visited upon it from all sides.

The loss of Lorraine was so much the more painful that its former sovereign had stood in the closest relation to Charles VI, and his possessions. For long years had the question of the marriage of 'the heiress-daughter,' Maria Theresa, occupied all Europe, until the archduchess, in her eighteenth year, pleasing and vivacious, made her own selection, and chose for her consort the Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine. The Empress Elizabeth, the fond mother of the young princess, befriended her daughter's favorite; but the emperor would have preferred a more powerful prince for his son-in-law. He finally yielded, however, especially as throughout Germany an imperial prince was desired as consort of the Austrian heiress. Shortly after the conclusion of the Vienna preliminaries of peace, the marriage took place which united the house of Lorraine to the Hapsburgs (February 12, 1736).

Prince Eugene did not long survive this event, which decided the future of the Austrian dynasty. He died on April 21. His military faculties had long since suffered from age; yet he continued to be the truest and wisest counsellor of the emperor, who, to his own hurt, far too often neglected his advice and opinion.

After the death of Eugene the Austrian administration fell into complete anarchy. There was no personality of sufficient importance to exert a controlling influence upon the emperor and the state, both of which were in need of direction. At first Charles bestowed his confidence upon a man who had risen from modest circumstances, Johann Christoph von Bartenstein (Fig. 28). He showed such dexterity in the transaction of business that he astonished the emperor, who quickly promoted him to the office of secretary of state, and chose him for his confidential counsellor. In truth, Bartenstein ever displayed a candor and true devotion for his lord, such as appeared in none of his high-born ministers, who cherished for the plebeian the deepest contempt. He repaid them, as far as possible, by his coarse and rude demeanor. Thus the greatest dissension prevailed among the imperial counsellors. Unfortunately Bartenstein was not a man who by his superior genius could give a positive direction to the system of government. He possessed the gifts of a superior legal at-

torney, but none of the real qualities of the statesman. In the thousand subtleties of the law of the Holy Roman Empire he was entirely at home and delighted in them, but he was unable to comprehend the great European questions: these only confused his thoughts, so that he never could attain a sagacious and adequate perception of them. He was always desirous of reviving with pedantic obstinacy the obsolete prerogatives of the empire in Germany. By the numerous vexatious points which he had brought forward from the laws of the empire against the investiture of Don Carlos with the jurisdiction of Tuscany he had contributed greatly to Spain's part in the war of 1733. Moreover, he did not hinder the emperor, when, untaught by the public evidence of defective preparation furnished by his troops during the last war, he rushed into new adventures. In a contest with the Turks, Charles VI. thought he could without difficulty indemnify himself for the losses which had been inflicted upon him.

After the Peace of Passarowitz, the Porte had done everything to secure the good-will of the imperial court. It had set at liberty Christian captives, and to the subjects of Charles had granted numerous commercial privileges: it had admonished the Barbary States to maintain friendly relations with Austria: it had stood on the side of Austria during the war of the Polish Succession. But the Vienna government was bent on a war of conquest against the Turks, and to such a war the situation of affairs seemed to be sufficiently inviting. Russia had opened the way for Austria.

The Czarina Anna, under the guidance of the Germans, Ostermann, Münnich, and Biron, continued to conduct the government in a praiseworthy manner. But however beneficent the government of



FIG. 28.—Johann Christoph von Bartenstein.

the foreigners, the Old Russian party—and this embraced the immense majority of the nobility, of the ecclesiastics, and of the nation—bore with it unwillingly, as a rule enforced and anti-national. In order to remove this dissatisfaction or to silence it, the ruling circles conceived the plan of taking up again the projects of Peter the Great for acquiring the shores of the Black Sea. A pretext for war with the Ottomans could not be wanting in the mutual robberies and conflicts of the Tatars and Cossacks. Without a formal declaration of war, Field-Marshal Münnich invaded the Turkish territory in the autumn of 1735. The campaign of the following year secured Azov, that important fortress at the north of the Don, which Peter the Great had already captured, but was at that time compelled to surrender. While Lacy, after many difficulties, was bringing this enterprise to a happy termination, Münnich marched against the Crimea, which was inhabited by Tatars living under the jurisdiction of the Porte. It was completely separated from the mainland by the strong fortified lines at Perekop: but the Russian troops scaled the works by a daring onset, and pressed viatoriously into the peninsula. Want and disease forced them to retreat quickly. In the year 1737 they attacked Bessarabia, and also the strong fortress of Otschakoff. Münnich was able to take it after the explosion of a powder magazine had killed the greater part of the brave Turkish garrison.

In pursuance of the treaty of 1726 the government of St. Petersburg applied to Austria for 30,000 men. Almost all the imperial ministers were, on account of the miserable condition of the army and of the fortifications, filled with alarm at the mere thought of war, and urgently advised against any great operation. Only Barstenstein, who was inclined always to adopt forcible measures, and the unimportant prince of Hildburghausen, urged the emperor to decide for war: and, notwithstanding all the gloomy experiences of the last years, Charles suffered himself to be led to take up arms against the Porte, not as a mere auxiliary of Russia, but independently and with all his forces. In January, 1737, he concluded a treaty with the Czarina Anna: and in the summer of the same year the imperial troops advanced into the Turkish territory. Austria began the contest with disordered finances and a discouraged army. The commander-in-chief, Count Seckendorf, the former ambassador in Berlin, was better suited to act as negotiator than as leader in the field: and besides, as a Protestant, he numbered many enemies in the bigoted

court of Vienna. The Austrian army consisted of but little more than 50,000 men; instead of 600,000 florins monthly for their subsistence, Seckendorf received only 100,000. The Turks, on the contrary, exhibited a surprising vigor and energy. Their troops were numerous, and were admirably handled by a French renegade, Count Bonneval. Seckendorf's enemies in Vienna did everything to thwart his undertakings. He was able indeed to capture Nish; but the sieges of Widdin, and of several Bosnian fortresses, were necessarily abandoned with serious losses; and at the end of the campaign, owing to the cowardice of the commander of Nish, even this city was recaptured by the Turks. The blame fell exclusively on the Lutheran Seckendorf. He was taken to the fortress of Glatz, and was released only by the death of Charles VI. The fault lay rather with the incapacity and dishonesty of the imperial administration and management of the war. To Francis of Lorraine nominally, to Count Königsegg really, was intrusted the supreme command for the year 1738. The Turks pressed into Austrian Bosnia, and moreover conquered the whole of Austrian Servia as far as Belgrade. The anger of the people at these misfortunes was so great that Francis and his consort were obliged to leave Austria and repair to Tuscany, which had been vacated by the death of the last of the Medici. Königsegg also lost his military offices. The financial perplexities of the imperial court were increased to the utmost by this unfortunate war. In the year 1739 scarcely 40,000 men could be assembled. Nevertheless, the proud and presumptuous Field-Marshal Wallis undertook to attack the far more numerous army of the grand vizier, which was admirably commanded, and suffered a complete overthrow at Krotzka (July, 1739). This affair made it impossible for the imperial army to protect Belgrade, and the finest of Eugene's conquests was immediately besieged by the Turks. The imperial court at once began negotiations for peace. In case of need Belgrade was to be surrendered. The brave garrison of Belgrade put to shame all the high-born diplomatists and generals of the empire by defending themselves in the most energetic and successful manner in their half-ruined works. But on September 1, 1739, preliminaries of peace between the Porte and the emperor were signed, to the effect that the former received back Servia with Belgrade, Austrian Wallachia, and the important stronghold of Orsova. Most of the acquisitions of the Peace of Passarowitz were thus abandoned.

Much more fortunately had Münnich fought with his Russians.

In the beginning of 1739 he completely defeated the Turks at Stavutchani, then took the strong fortress of Chotin, and advanced victoriously into Moldavia. Then suddenly came the news of the Turkoo-Austrian preliminaries. Russia did not believe herself to be in a condition to carry on the war alone. At Stockholm the French party had at the time completely gained the upper hand, and Sweden was negotiating eagerly with the Porte to conclude an offensive treaty against the czarina. The loss of lives in the five campaigns had been painfully felt in the thinly peopled empire. Besides, Field-Marshal Münnich had an enemy in Anna's favorite, Biron, who had been made duke of Courland. Biron was not disposed to suffer a rival in regard to the controlling power in Russia. Thus the czarina acceded in 1739 to the Treaty of Belgrade, although it procured Russia but slight indemnification. Of her conquests only Azov was retained, and of that the fortifications were demolished. Once more Turkish garrisons in Otchakoff and Kinburn closed the mouths of the Dnieper and the Bug, and at Kertch, the entrance to the Sea of Azov: again was Russian commerce prohibited admission to the Black Sea. But if the material gain of this war was trifling for Russia, the moral advantage was so much the greater. The brilliant success of her arms filled Russia with proud self-confidence, with the consciousness of superiority to her Ottoman neighbors, and with the bold conviction that in the concerns of Western Europe she had the ability to play a decisive part.

The party of reform, led by the Germans, which had secured great and indubitable benefits to the empire of the czarina, was meanwhile undermining its own position by internal dissension. While the most elementary prudence, the injunction of self-preservation, should have caused them in presence of the enmity of the vast Old Russian party to hold together faithfully, Ostermann and Münnich were at variance on account of small matters, and Biron carried on the selfish, hated, and tyrannical government of a favorite. Anger at this conduct of a detested foreigner was constantly increasing among the Russian people. Led by the remnant of the Dolgoruki family, a conspiracy was formed which had for its objects the removal of the Czarina Anna and the extermination of all Germans; but it was discovered, and cruelly punished by the execution of many of the Dolgorukis. Such events showed upon what an insecure footing, in the want of a regulated succession to the throne, the entire government of that day was standing.



PLATE XI.



Empress Elizabeth I. of Russia.

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving (1761) by E. Tchemesoff; original painting by L. Tocqué (1695-1772).

*History of All Nations, Vol. XIV., page 181.*

The crisis threatened to arrive when in the autumn of 1740 the Czarina Anna, scarcely forty years of age, was attacked by a fatal illness. In her last will she had two objects in view: first to secure the succession to her own family to the exclusion of the female posterity of Peter the Great, and secondly to preserve for her favorite, Biron, his controlling position. She named, therefore, as her successor, Ivan, the son of her niece Anna Leopoldovna, who, a German, had married a German, Duke Anton Ulrich of Brunswick-Bevern. The regent during Ivan's protracted minority was to be the Duke Biron of Courland. The Czarina Anna was hardly dead, October 28, 1740, when Anna Leopoldovna and her husband turned to Münnich in order to overthrow the shameless upstart duke. The field-marshall obtained a few hundred soldiers of the guards, by whose help he, without trouble, got possession of Biron, who was sent to Siberia. Anna Leopoldovna of Mecklenburg now received the regency.

Once more had the Germans triumphed, but they ruined everything by disunion and political incapacity. Anna Leopoldovna herself was a slow-witted, capricious, and quarrelsome woman. Untaught by the fate of Biron, she insulted the Russian nobility and Russian officials, quarrelled with her own husband, and surrounded herself with unworthy favorites. Inasmuch as Münnich, to whom she owed her elevation, and who beyond doubt was the most gifted of the ruling statesmen, seemed to be dangerous to her ambition, she compelled him, with Ostermann's help, to lay down all his dignities.

These confused conditions enabled the Old Russian party to strike a decisive blow. It was most powerfully supported by France, who desired to do away with the Austrian influence, which had hitherto prevailed absolutely at the Russian court. The French ambassador, La Chetardie, was the special directing spirit of the conspiracy. In the spring of 1741 the plot was carried out in favor of the Princess Elizabeth (PLATE XI.), the daughter of Peter the Great, who was undoubtedly the legitimate heiress to the throne. She succeeded in securing the aid of a number of officers and soldiers among the guard, who were exasperated against the Germans; and she then arrested Anna and her husband as well as Ostermann, Münnich, and some other leaders of the hitherto ruling faction (December, 1741). The new czarina embraced and caressed poor little Ivan, but ordered him to be kept in close confinement for life

in the fortress of Schlüsselburg. His parents were compelled to pass the remainder of their existence at Cholmogor, far in the north. While Biron was recalled from Siberia, Münnich, Ostermann, and their friends went there. Münnich lived twenty years in Siberia, until Peter III. recalled him, and Catharine II. reinvested him with high dignities, in the enjoyment of which he continued until his death in 1767.

Such was the end of the rule of the Germans at the court of St. Petersburg. Elizabeth's government seems even now to the Old Russians and Panslavists to have been the golden age. Under it only genuine Russians of pure blood and of the Greek religion were raised to the high offices of state.

But notwithstanding these frequent revolutions, the Russian empire concealed within itself a mighty strength. The central government commanded absolutely

the strong and well-disciplined army throughout all these boundless countries. The army consisted of more than 200,000 regular soldiers and a great multitude of other troops. The navy, somewhat decayed since the death of Peter the Great, still numbered 4000 to 5000 sailors. The revenues of the crown also were considerable. Elizabeth's rule at first was weak enough; for all the men of special ability and experience had gone to



FIG. 29. — Chancellor Bestuzheff.  
(From a medallion.)

Siberia, and all who surrounded the new empress were like a band of common and dissolute subjects. The direction of affairs fell at first to the vice-chancellor, Alexei Petrovitch, Count Bestuzheff-Riumin (Fig. 29), a man of scientific and diplomatic training, who was as worthless morally as he was intellectually strong.

Even before the Czarina Anna, another of the former allies of Charles VI., Frederick William I. of Prussia, had died.

At the time when the imperial armies, confident of victory, marched out against the Turks (summer of 1737), Austria demanded, and, upon her suggestion, France as well as England and also Holland joined in the demand, that the four powers (excluding

every other) should together issue a declaration to the effect that they would take in hand the regulation of the question of the Jülich-Berg succession. What the fate of the Prussian claims would then have been is self-evident. In every way Austria violated the treaty of 1728. If England and Holland did not assent to this proposal, they accepted another proposition of the emperor which was scarcely less disagreeable for Prussia. In 1738 the ambassadors of Austria, France, England, and Holland presented identical notes to the Prussian ministers, in which was demanded the provisional occupation by the House of Sulzbach of the entire Jülich-Berg inheritance, and the participation by Prussia in a conference of the four powers, by which the affair should be 'amicably' adjusted. This was manifestly a mere cover for the final cession of the lands in controversy to Sulzbach. But from the attitude of Austria it was clear that the 'amicable' union would come to grief.

And yet what was to be done? Should Prussia, that small state, with 2,500,000 souls, wage war with the four Great Powers of that day? It is to the great credit of Frederick William I. not to have suffered himself to be intimidated in this case. At bottom he perceived that the situation was not so perilous as it seemed. As a result of her unfortunate Turkish war, Austria had not even 10,000 men to serve against Prussia. Holland was absolutely pacific, because any warlike demonstration must have increased the power of the House of Orange, and thus menaced the dominant oligarchical party. Finally, Walpole was altogether opposed to war, and besides he felt that he was shaken in his position.

One long-continued system of government will always produce a constantly augmenting quantity of disillusion and discontent. The little band of Tories had gradually been joined by a considerable number of discontented Whigs in opposition to Walpole. All men of talent joined it, partly from personal ambition, for they considered that it was time for Walpole to give place to them; partly because they disapproved of his thoroughly conservative and do-nothing policy. The all-powerful Whig minister had been first defeated in the domain of finance. When, in order to gain the nobility of the country, he had seriously lowered the land-tax, he had disturbed the equilibrium of the revenue, and found himself obliged to make use of the entire sinking-fund, in order to meet current expenditures. To make the income again equal expenditures, Walpole, in the year 1733, proposed an important increase of the excise: that is, of the

duties raised on domestic sales, even of articles of daily consumption. But this scheme met with noisy opposition: for the people suspected that Walpole's project meant the introduction of spies, of prying and searching customs-officers, into their houses and into their daily habits. The Briton has ever cherished a sensitive feeling in regard to such practices, and was not willing to see measures of the kind undertaken in his country, even on a small scale. The rage and agitation of the people gave cause to apprehend a revolution. Consequently Walpole regarded it as advisable to abandon the project.

He could have escaped from this domestic quarrel tolerably well with some loss of popularity, but a foreign dispute became ruinous to him. This was the dispute with Spain as to smuggling.

The commercial relations between that kingdom and England were regulated by the treaties of 1667 and 1670, as well as by the agreement made at Seville in the year 1729, so as to prohibit to English vessels all direct intercourse with the colonies of Spain, excepting by a single ship, which the South Sea Company might send to Spanish America. But the enterprising spirit and the desire of gain on the part of the British merchants had not been confined to these limitations: and they had engaged in a rich and extensive smuggling traffic with the colonies. This the Spanish revenue vessels sought by all means to prevent. It is natural that in this effort they at times exceeded their authority, not only searching English vessels on Spanish coasts, but also on the open sea, and handling their crews not always with mildness. The English who were concerned raised loud outeries over every such act of violence, while they cast a thick veil over their own lawless conduct. The dilatory proceedings of the court of Madrid heightened the general dissatisfaction. Public feeling reached the boiling-point when the Opposition brought before parliament a certain Captain Jenkins, whose ear, it was alleged, had been cut off by a Spanish revenue officer (1738). Jenkins, indeed, showed the remains neatly packed in wool, but there were many people who maintained that he had lost his ear in Great Britain in the pillory. But 'Jenkins's ear,' embellished with theatrical additions, excited a great storm of indignation, directed for the most part against Walpole, who was charged with cowardice and disgraceful weakness in reference to Spanish cruelties. Manifestly, under such circumstances, the English government could not think of warlike measures on the Rhine.

Thus of the enemies of Prussia, only France remained to be feared, and her serious designs Frederick William doubted with reason. He therefore rejected the proposition of the four powers; at the same time, to be prepared for all emergencies, he gave orders to form an army of 50,000 men in Cleves. The four powers, who had counted absolutely upon his submission, considered now on their side what was to be done in reference to this unlooked-for resistance of the king of Prussia. France and Austria finally took courage to propose to the Maritime Powers a joint conference at the Hague for discussion of ulterior measures. England and Holland, however, rejected even this. At last France also changed her position toward the Jülich question in a manner which Frederick William had scarcely dared to hope.

Cardinal Fleury saw that in the event of coercion the whole burden must fall upon France, on account of the feeble condition of Austria. He did not wish to help Austria to victory. He desired only to secure for France a dominant position in Europe, with possible maintenance of peace. Consequently he entered into secret negotiations with the king, on the basis of Berg falling to Prussia, but in the most mutilated condition, while the rest was to go to the house of Sulzbach, with which France had previously entered into binding obligations. Frederick William yielded unwillingly: for he did not feel that he was able to cope with one certain enemy and several possible enemies, any one of whom was really stronger than himself. On April 5, 1739, he signed the treaty which gave him possession of at least three-fourths of the duchy of Berg, as well as the prospect of Ravenstein, while France promised intervention with all her power to sustain this arrangement. Furthermore, France and Prussia pledged to each other the closest friendship and a firm alliance.

The Prussian king had to consider himself fortunate in having, though with the help of his bitterest enemy, succeeded in spoiling the plans of his false friends, the imperialists and England. He had still the satisfaction of seeing judgment executed on them.

Walpole had made every effort in order to put an end to the smuggling controversy without being obliged to draw the sword. He concluded a convention with Spain, which secured (1739) an inconsiderable indemnification of 95,000 pounds sterling to the victims of the most outrageous acts of violence perpetrated by the South American 'guardacostas,' or revenue vessels. But this agree-

ment, which settled no one of the four fundamental points in the controversy, but rather opened a wide door for fresh disputes, excited universal dissatisfaction. Among the leaders of the Opposition in the Lower House, young William Pitt was remarked for his vehemence, and also for his fiery and moving eloquence. “This convention, Sir,” he said, “I think from my soul, is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce, without a suspension of hostilities, on the part of Spain; on the part of England, a suspension . . . of the first law of nature, self-preservation and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries; and, in this infinitely highest and most sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the resolutions of parliament, and the gracious promise from the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants, and the voice of England, have condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser: God forbid that this committee<sup>1</sup> should share the guilt by approving it!”

Notwithstanding, Walpole gained a victory; but his majority was only twenty-eight. That was plain proof that the majority throughout the country was decidedly opposed to Walpole’s policy, and that it was for war. Nevertheless, Walpole, had he possessed the least strength of character, ought to have maintained resistance to this cry for war, which not he alone, but also the leaders of the Opposition in their hearts, believed to be wholly without justification. The English war and revenue ships exercised substantially the same authority which was denied to the Spaniards; and Pitt (Fig. 30) and his friends, ten years later, in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, allowed these rights to the Spaniards without dispute. Walpole ought rather to have resigned his place than to have acted contrary to his inmost conviction. Under idle pretexts he declared war,—the ‘War of Jenkins’s Ear,’—in October, 1739, against Spain, although he knew that soon the rejoicing of the people would be turned to mourning and anger. “Let them now strike the bells,” he cried; “shortly will they wring their hands.” And yet he proffered himself as the instrument. This wrong decided his moral and political downfall. On the other hand, had he retired on account of the war-question, the unpopularity which the war soon brought would have been for his advantage, and would have again elevated him.

<sup>1</sup> The Commons were considering the convention in a committee of the whole house. — ED.

Thus, while one of Prussia's enemies under a weak administration was destined to certain disaster, the other, Austria, suffered still more severely from incompetent management.

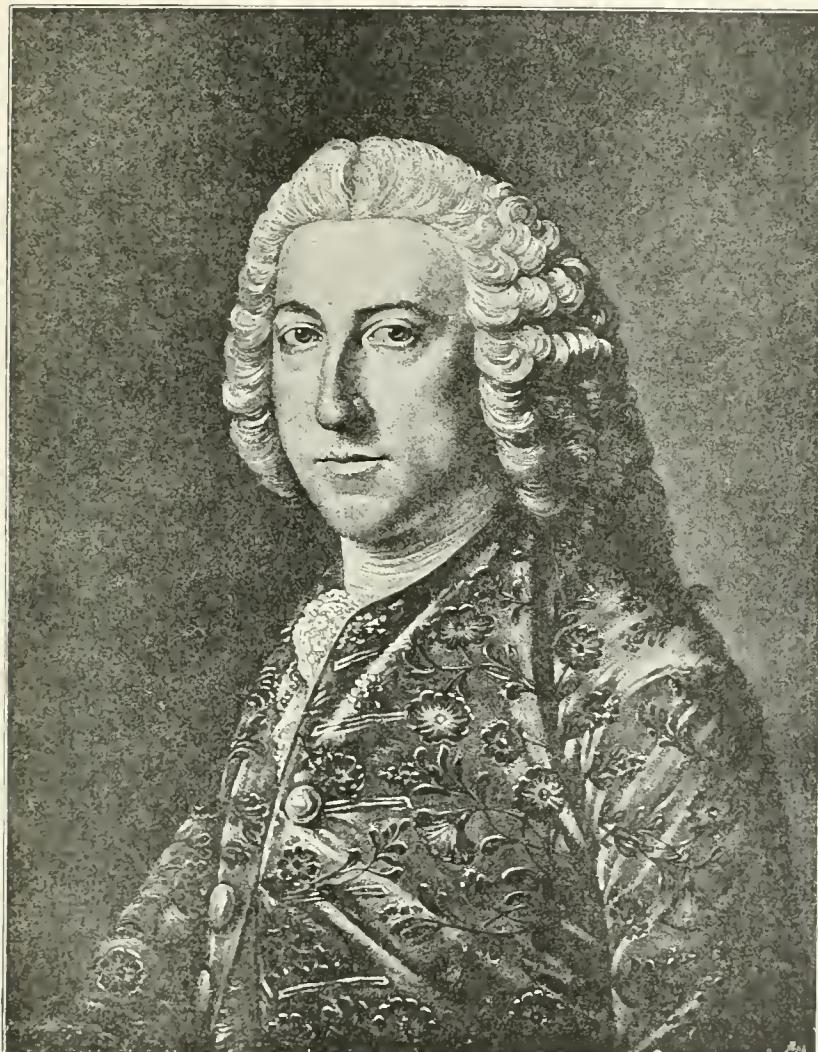


FIG. 30. — William Pitt. (After a drawing by Richard Houston, 1721-1775.)

The wars of the Polish Succession and with the Porte had precipitated the imperial house from the height of power recently attained. Within a few years fully a third of the Austrian possessions had been lost to Spain, to Sardinia, and to the Porte. The

army of Charles was utterly disordered and discouraged ; his finances were in a lamentable condition ; his coffers empty, his credit ruined. The people had lost all confidence in the future of their own state, whose absolute dissolution they expected on the death of Charles. The English ambassador wrote, in August, 1739 : " Extreme confusion is bringing everything to a disastrous result. The signs of blindness and despair are as palpable as they ever have been in the case of a people whose destruction Heaven had determined to permit." The worst was that the other states thoroughly despised Austria, and regarded that country as an easy victim to their ambitious schemes. For had not England proved an unreliable ally in the Polish war, and had not France in the Jülich question deserted Austria entirely ? On this point the emperor and Bartenstein were thoroughly deluded. Furthermore, Charles imagined that his drop-sical consort would die before him, and that on a second marriage he could have a son and successor ; consequently he made no attempt to secure for his son-in-law, Francis of Tuscany, the dignity of king of Rome.

Just the opposite happened. The emperor, while hunting in the autumn of 1740, took such a cold that after a short illness he died, on October 20, 1740,— the last male offspring of the house of Hapsburg. Charles had felt conscious of the general disorder and deep decline of his state, but did not have the courage to remove the confused mass of traditional evils. " Not more than a few thousand florins were in his coffers," wrote his successor ; " credit at home and abroad was completely gone, the people in the capital were dissolute and hard to please, and it was very nearly the same in the provinces ; in a word, everything looked like speedy decay and ruin."

To make the fate of the unhappy state worse, in the neighboring kingdom of Prussia, a few months before the death of the last of the Hapsburgs, the pacific Frederick William was followed by an ambitious and enterprising youth, who was determined to profit by the embarrassments of the House of Austria. On the other side, Elizabeth Farnese was watching to wrest from it even its few Italian possessions still remaining.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ITALY AFTER THE PEACE OF 1720.

IN no part of Europe did the Treaty of Utrecht effect so complete a transformation as in the peninsula of the Apennines. Accustomed for a long time to get impulse to action from foreign lands, Italy had seen her destiny by the treaties of 1713, and then of 1720, turned into another path. Instead of Spanish predominance, which had prevailed for two hundred years, the hegemony of Austria now made itself felt, which was indeed exercised in a milder, but hardly less burdensome form. It mattered little for the dependent countries whether their central government sat in Vienna or Madrid, whether they were subjected to the maladministration of Austrian or of Spanish officials. The Italian states, nominally free, could as little act according to their own pleasure under the preponderating power of the empire as when they were under the Catholic king. A national consciousness peculiar to Italy was indeed as yet scarcely in existence; nevertheless, the people felt very uncomfortable under the rule of foreigners, who did not understand Italian life, and for whom the countries governed by them had no affection.

The papacy, which, in the midst of universal decay, had still imparted a certain splendor to the Italian name, now shared more and more in the decline. A series of insignificant popes gradually robbed it of all respect, so that statesmen paid little attention to it. The Catholic princes and ministers suffered the pope to exert no important influence either upon great political movements, or upon the internal affairs of their national churches. If the bull *Unigenitus* was accepted by the Catholic powers, the pope did not venture to give effect to the claims therein laid down, which remained valid only on paper. Of Michaelangelo de' Conti, who styled himself (1721-1724) Innocent XIII., there is hardly anything worth mentioning. His successor, Vincenzo Maria Orsini, — Benedict XIII. (1724-1730), — was a Dominican monk, full of elevated Christian virtues, but of a very limited intellect, without even a suspicion of

the requirements and obligations of a ruler. A chamberlain, the son of a Beneventan barber, Nicolo Coscia, an utterly depraved man, was invested by him with the cardinal's purple. He and other favorites renewed scandals of former days, — selling church dignities and official distinctions to the highest bidders, and shamefully plundering the papal coffers. Dishonesty and injudicious favors ruined the finances of the Curia completely. Turkish pirates plundered and kidnapped on the coasts of the States of the Church. Matters did not improve under the pontificate of the Florentine, Lorenzo Corsini, who was styled Clement XII. (1730-1740). Corsini had indeed at an early day distinguished himself by learning, knowledge of affairs, and acuteness of intellect; but when he mounted the papal throne he was a broken and blind old man, nearly eighty years of age. Although Coscia expiated his sins by the loss of his cardinalate, and by imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo, the people were not better off, and in their despair raised a wild commotion in Rome in 1736. Finances remained in the most lamentable condition. Trade and industry had almost ceased to exist.

Under such rulers the Curia could no longer exercise a decisive influence upon European or even Italian affairs. Its worldly efficiency was necessarily impaired by the fact that the Protestant powers, Holland, Prussia, and above all England, were then taking the most important part in the ordering of political relations. The pope claimed to be the feudal lord of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. Nevertheless, these lands were disposed of in the years 1713 and 1720 without his having even been asked. The same happened in the Vienna peace preliminaries of 1736. The Curia had also exercised a right of seigniory over Parma. The latter was assigned now to a Spanish prince, now to the emperor. It was forced to look on in helplessness, while in 1736 Spain and Naples absolutely banished the papal nuncios from the land, and both, as well as Portugal, prohibited all money payments to Rome from their territories. The pope retained the friendship of France and of the emperor only by constant sacrifices. Once the pontiff had possessed the right of arbitration over all European princes. This had become untenable, but he regarded and treated the Italian sovereigns at least as subordinated to him. Now that, too, was past, and he had no longer the least power outside of the States of the Church. The saying was current at that time, "One must kiss the pope's feet and bind his hands."

Clement XII., who was growing blind, had taken up at least the artistic activity of his predecessors of the Renaissance. Rome was no longer the political and scarcely the ecclesiastical head of the world. But Rome remained the capital of art and of the artists, and the most attractive city of Christendom. To speak only of the most important things, Corsini added to the Lateran the new magnificent façade with the porch and the splendid Corsini Chapel. Under him Ferdinando Fuga erected the palace of the Consulta, and for his nephew, Neri-Corsini, the house once belonging to the Riari was enlarged, so that it became the grandest palace in Rome. To Clement XII. belongs, finally, the undying honor of having collected in the Capitoline Museum many ancient works of art in the possession of the pope and senators of Rome, and of having made them free to the admiration of citizens and of foreigners. The latter flowed to Rome in ever increasing numbers. President de Brosses, in his "Italian Letters" of 1739, wrote, "Taking all in all, I know of no city in all Europe that would be more agreeable and suitable, and which I would rather inhabit, Paris not excepted. People know one another and see one another continually. Every thing is to a certain extent a matter of news, but there prevails a complete freedom of action." Thus did the eternal city become, for a century and a half, a great harbor for the noblest and most refined intellects in Europe.

But whoever wished to enjoy himself thoroughly, free from every moral consideration, went to Venice. If Rome was the museum of Europe, Venice was her pleasure-house. Nowhere was the carnival celebrated so extravagantly as here; nowhere were such splendid feasts given by nobles: nowhere were amusements so diversified, and so freely provided, and the women, from those of patrician rank to the water-carriers, so complaisant and frivolous. In Venice there were often thirty thousand strangers at one time, seeking amusement. "Nowhere in the world did freedom and license rule with such sovereign sway as in this city. Meddle not with the government, and aside from that, do what thou wilt. The impunity is without limit: women are regarded as common property." Ambassadors and ecclesiastics were bold enough to chatter familiarly and publicly with notorious women. Such a state could no longer think of playing any political rôle. The little states had been able to take part in the historical transactions of Europe, as long as such were decided by small armies; but since an improved finance and the establish-

ment of the absolutism of princes had enabled the sovereigns of the large states to collect armies several hundred thousand strong, the smaller communities could no longer compete with them. Venice, in the last Turkish war (1714-1718), had undergone only too deplorable experiences of this kind. Subsequently the republic maintained, with even greater earnestness, her policy of neutrality; but when that was understood, the war-making powers in the years 1733-1735 violated her territory without hesitation, and harassed it without restriction. Thus had Venice rejected the demand of the emperor to take part in the Turkish war of the year 1737. She had striven, moreover, to render neutrality profitable for her commercial interests, but the attempt did not succeed. The great ships of the eighteenth century no longer frequented the shallow lagoons of the old seaport, situated in the remotest corner of the Adriatic.

Thousands of pictures in harmonious and glowing colors adorned the churches and palaces of Venice, but a taste for art and poetry reigned there no longer. To find that, one must go to Rome, or better still to Florence, where people continued to be the most intelligent and cultivated in Italy. That taste remained here under the first archduke of Lorraine, as it had been under the last of the Medicean princes. A contemporary writes: "Literature, philosophy, mathematics, and the arts are still at this day cherished in Florence to an extraordinary degree. One finds this city full of writers, as well among people of rank as the literati by profession. The Florentines have greater facilities for the cultivation of literature than any other Italian community: they possess fine fortunes; they have leisure; they are busied neither with military service nor with public affairs. They live, moreover, under the influence of all the institutions established for them centuries ago, especially old pictures and statues, libraries, and manuscripts. Consequently they supply all Italy with poets and learned men."

While the republic of Venice was losing more and more in political weight, there was rising at the other extremity of Upper Italy the House of Savoy, whose consideration was not a little augmented when it secured the royal crown, first of Sicily and then of Sardinia. By this elevation in rank the ambitious dynasty was naturally turned to fresh acquisitions. King Victor Amadeus II., a well-intentioned, earnest sovereign, incessantly occupied with questions of internal administration, thought more, indeed, of maintaining his considerable acquisitions than of adding to them. His brief rule in Sicily was

rendered disagreeable to him, not only by the dislike of the islanders for the calm, order-loving northerners, but also by disputes with the Curia. The Sicilian monarchs possessed certain extraordinary ecclesiastical prerogatives, which they derived from an alleged bull of Pope Urban II. of the year 1099. The most important was that the Holy See could send a legate to Sicily only with their consent. In consequence of this privilege they instituted the so-called 'Court of Justice of the Monarchy,' which, although composed of lay judges appointed by the king, exercised immediate jurisdiction over monasteries and prelates, and for all other ecclesiastics constituted the Court of Appeals from the decisions of the ecclesiastical tribunals. For a long time Rome had looked upon these extraordinary rights of the civil power in Sicily with an unfavorable eye, contested their legality, and assailed their existence. So long as the island belonged to Spain, one of the Great Powers, these endeavors had remained without result; but when it fell to the weaker House of Savoy the pope believed that the victory could be more easily won. Hostilities were the more embittered since Victor Amadeus was already in open strife with Clement XI. on account of questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ecclesiastical benefices in Piedmont. The pope had excommunicated officials of the duke, and the duke had banished the pope's commissioners from his territories and sequestered their revenue. In Sicily the Curia now incited all the bishops to resist openly the new government, and excommunicated the judge who exercised the jurisdiction of the 'Monarchy' (1714).

Monks hastened in disguise to the island, everywhere preaching disobedience to the new government. In February, 1715, the pope finally took the decisive step of publishing a bull, which abolished all the ecclesiastical rights of the Crown of Sicily, and especially the 'Court of Justice of the Monarchy,' and inflicted excommunication upon all judges and officials who participated in its acts. The king accepted the challenge, denied all validity to the bull, and banished from the kingdom, or put in prison, all ecclesiastics who obeyed the papal ban.

The contest did not end until the emperor became sovereign of Sicily, and it closed with the complete overthrow of the Curia. Benedict XIII. abrogated in 1728 all the ecclesiastical penalties imposed upon Sicily, and confirmed in its full extent the bull of Urban II.

But Victor Amadeus imputed the blame of the dispute with the

church mainly to the Jesuits, against whom, consequently, he conceived a bitter hatred. He banished the entire order from Sicily. In the year 1727 he issued, at the suggestion of certain jurists, an edict depriving all regular priests, and therefore the Jesuits especially, of the right to hold public schools. The more was the king determined that his country, rude, uninstructed, and kept back by constant wars, should be raised by introducing and encouraging the practical sciences and general lay instruction. He re-established the university of Turin, for which he built a splendid palace. The natural sciences, for which the Italians of that day were so eminently distinguished, were especially cultivated in this institution, and to it were summoned able professors from far and near. The university received the exclusive right of examining and appointing teachers of a lower grade. The Constitutions of the year 1729 finally effected a complete reorganization of the entire school system. Regular examinations secured the instruction from the intrusion of incompetent persons. Middle and lower schools were regulated according to a uniform system in all the provinces of the state on the mainland. Consideration for intellectual occupations and for the sciences and arts began to prevail in a country that had hitherto borne a purely military character.

One must do the Emperor Charles VI. the justice to say that he also, mainly on the advice of Prince Eugene, established in the capital of Lombardy a much-desired condition of intellectual activity. In Milan there prevailed even greater freedom of thought than in Turin, the censorship was far milder and more indulgent. Besides, the Milanese nobles had always been inclined actively to participate in literary efforts, and the population for many centuries was regarded as cultivated and intellectual. Thus Milan became a centre of intellectual production in Italy.

Victor Amadeus was known as one of the most active and persevering princes in all of Europe. His new code of laws, published in the years 1723-1729, was harsh, but just, and put an end to arbitrary and corrupt action upon the part of judges and to the incompetence of federal jurisdiction. With great severity he plundered the nobles in favor of the exchequer, on pretence of recovering the squandered property of the crown. On the other hand, at an expense of six million dollars, he carried through a just division of the taxes on land, to the advantage of the poorer classes. In every way he humbled the nobility and strengthened kingly abso-

lutism. The greater was the sensation excited, when, on September 3, 1730, he resigned the crown to his son, Charles Emmanuel. He feared, at his age of sixty-four years, to be broken down amid the complications which threatened the future of Italy from the insatiable greed for land of Elizabeth Farnese and the question of the Austrian succession. He distrusted the abilities of his son, whom he was accustomed to call contemptuously 'Charley' (Carlino), and desired to control him during the first years of his rule. Moreover, he wished to enjoy quietly the love which bound him to the Dowager Countess of San Sebastian, and had led him shortly before to be secretly married to her. He reserved for himself only an income of one hundred and fifty thousand lire and the castle of Chambéry.

One year Victor Amadeus spent in this solitude. But his promise to intrust public business wholly to his son and to Ormea the prime minister, he did not observe. At first he caused himself to be informed respecting the affairs of state; then he began to take part in giving advice; finally it was necessary that all the more important matters should be submitted to his decision. In so equivocal a situation contentions could not fail to arise. Victor Amadeus found that his views were not sufficiently observed. He regretted having renounced power prematurely; and the ambitious wife, whom he had raised to the rank of Marchioness of Spigno, confirmed him in such feelings. In the heart of the sick old man the determination gradually matured to repossess himself of the power too hastily surrendered. On the pretence that the cold Alpine air of Chambéry was intolerable on account of his health, he went to the castle of Moncalieri, near Turin. He desired to profit by the absence of his son from the capital, in order to make sure of it for himself; but Charles Emmanuel, warned in time, turned back in haste. He visited his father, perceived his ambitious purposes, but did not venture to anticipate them. Encouraged by this indecision, Victor quickly sought to accomplish his plan. At first, in the presence of the royal council, he repeatedly censured, in the sharpest manner, the 'misgovernment' of his son, and ordered the business in all its details to be brought before him for decision. Finally he had an act of recantation of his original abdication drawn up, which repeated his vehement invectives against his son and the minister. Once more the son sought a reconciliation; but the obstinate old man, who believed that no one would dare resist his authority, sharply

repulsed him. Upon this Charles Emmanuel convened a Royal Council, which decided with one voice that the welfare of the state should not be exposed to the whims of a prince enfeebled by age and well-nigh insane, and to the ambitions of an intriguing woman. Fear of the revenge of Victor Amadeus, a man hasty in his anger, rendered them still more determined. The king was advised to secure the person of his father. Assailed on all sides, Charles Emmanuel, in tears, finally gave his consent and his signature. During the nights of September 27 and 28, the castle of Moncalieri was surrounded by soldiers. They tore the marchioness from the side of her husband, to drag her to a remote fortress. Victor Amadeus, who resisted like a madman, was enveloped in bed-clothes, thrown into a wagon, and placed in close confinement in the castle of Rivoli. When subsequently he calmed down, his imprisonment was alleviated, and his wife restored to him. But the agitation and disappointment endured had completely shattered his health, and he died in the autumn of the following year (1732).

Thus Charles Emmanuel was allowed to enjoy quietly his sovereignty. He was a prince who cared only for the material strength of the state. His sole concerns were to maintain the finances in a good condition, and to augment his fighting force. Frugal in regard to himself and others, Charles Emmanuel was able, notwithstanding all his military expenditures, to collect a treasure for the state. Thus did the House of Savoy in Italy, like the Hohenzollerns in Germany, prepare by severe measures the conditions under which alone it was finally enabled and called upon to restore the unity of the country.

Meanwhile the republic of Genoa, adjoining the kingdom of Sardinia, was again distracted by a long-continued uprising of the ever restless Corsicans. The Genoese government had indeed, by severe taxes and oppressions of every kind, driven the poor islanders to despair, while at the same time, with short-sighted greed, it sold to the inhabitants the right to possess firearms. Finally, in the year 1729, the Corsicans resolved to pay no more taxes; everywhere they rose in rebellion. Don Luis Giafferi led them to victory, and the Genoese would have been destroyed had not the emperor by a shameful bargain hired out to them 8000 Germans under General Wachtendonck. However, the Corsicans did not despair; other Italians came to their assistance. They compelled Wachtendonck with half his corps to capitulate, and destroyed the other half in the

bloody battle of Calenzana. The emperor himself began to feel sympathy for the brave efforts of the little people, and mediated a peace at Corte (1732), which lessened the burden of taxation, and secured liberty to the Corsicans, as well as an impartial administration of justice.

But Genoa had hardly regained possession of the island when she began to violate all the conditions of this treaty, and to war a second time against the rights and the lives of the Corsicans. Then the Corsicans rose up anew. Giafferi and Hyacinthe Paoli—a man of remarkable gifts, at once orator, poet, and statesman—came forth at their head. In 1735 a general assembly of the people at Corte declared the independence of the island. The sagacity and the moderation now displayed by these poor men, who possessed not the slightest knowledge of the wisdom and philosophy of the century, is admirable. So great was the sympathy entertained for them, that English citizens sent powder, small arms, and artillery. The islanders were, however, in lamentable distress, in view of the superior power of the Genoese. In this situation they accepted with enthusiasm a stranger, who, with officers, money, and munitions of war, landed among them (March, 1736).

This was Theodor von Neuhof, a spirited adventurer, the son of a Westphalian nobleman. In France, Sweden, and Spain he had served with varying fortune. He had come to Italy as diplomatic agent of the Emperor Charles VI., and here had become more closely acquainted with the efforts of the Corsicans. He deluded their leaders with the hope that his grand connections would easily secure for them the ardently desired independence, and induced them to promise him the sovereignty of their island; and when he now really obtained some supplies from the bey of Tunis, and conveyed them to the Corsicans, they elevated him to the position of their constitutional king.

Notwithstanding some fantastic externals, Theodore I.—for thus he was styled—fought for his new subjects zealously and skilfully. They grew more and more impatient when the promised succor did not come, so he wisely left the island again. Nevertheless, he was able continually to procure fresh assistance for it.

But what could his opportune contributions avail when, in order to subject neighboring Corsica to her influence, such a state as France, at the request of Genoa, in the year 1738, despatched an army against the ‘rebels’? Theodore returned, but no longer found

sympathy on the part of his subjects, who had learned to distrust him; and finally he was obliged to return to England, where he died in the year 1756, in wretched circumstances. Against the French the people defended themselves with the courage of despair; but their inferiority was too great, and the whole island was subjugated by 1740. This subjugation did not long continue; scarcely had the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession compelled the return of the French regiments to the mainland, when the Corsicans rose afresh, and once more proclaimed their independence of Genoa.

At this time the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily had attained a lasting and complete independence.

After the Spanish Infant, Charles, by the victory of Bitonto, had become master of these countries (1734), he was received with enthusiasm by his subjects. He gave to them national freedom and independence for the first time. As Charles VII.—such was the style of the new sovereign—he manifested intelligence, and a good-will to deliver his kingdom from the evils of the misgovernment of the Spaniards and the Austrians. As his prime minister, he appointed Bernardo Tanucci, previously a professor of public law at Pisa, an enlightened and sagacious man of learning, imbued with the modern spirit, of whose acuteness and cleverness trial had already been made in subordinate offices.

Apart from Charles's excessive love of the chase, the government of this first Bourbon in Naples was intelligent and beneficial. Under the direction of Tanucci, a reform was undertaken of the laws, which were in complete confusion and disorder. Especially worthy of praise was the regulation of commercial law and of the commercial court. In like manner were established an effective sanitary policy, a maritime school, and a school for pilots. Charles invited Jews into his kingdom, and secured for them full toleration. Thus trade, manufacturing, industry, and agriculture were promoted in the land, the population beginning to devote themselves with confidence and love to labor and improvement. Measures of this kind are not to be ascribed exclusively to Tanucci, but also to the king himself, who in his youth had enjoyed an excellent education, and acquired substantial knowledge, especially in history, literature, and mathematics. Charles's ambition was one day to attain the fame of a scholar. His historical studies had imbued him with the conviction that all fundamental improvements in Catholic countries must begin with the liberation of the state from the church; and although

so piously devoted to religion, and so indefatigable in the practice of church ceremonies, yet as king, encouraged and counselled thereto by Tanucci, he intrepidly opposed papal usurpations. The conflict began when, in 1735, the pope received the customary tribute of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the emperor, and not from Charles VII., and therefore refused to the latter recognition as the ruler of that state. Even the final investiture of Charles by Pope Clement XII. (May, 1738) was not able to re-establish friendly relations between the two powers. Not till Benedict XIV., Clement's successor, made to the king, through the concordat of June 2, 1741, a series of highly important concessions to the advantage of the state, was the dissension terminated. The exemption from taxation of church domains—which embraced nearly one-half of the kingdom—was essentially restricted; the former possessions of the church were required to pay one-half of the general tax-rate, but those acquired recently should pay the whole amount, as in the case of other subjects. These measures increased considerably the revenues, and thereby the strength and power, of the state. The church's right of asylum was restricted, so as to make the jurisdiction of the state more effective. Besides, a mixed tribunal of clergy and laity was instituted, which should decide the contests respecting competency arising between the two kinds of jurisdiction. Thus did the papacy itself, under the mild Benedict XIV., draw back before the spirit of the age, and sacrifice to it a great number of privileges and pretensions hitherto maintained in the most obstinate manner. The development of a cultivated and enlightened official body, and the critical method of considering ecclesiastical affairs, bore their fruits.

In truth, Charles VII. and Tanucci went still further than the precise grants of this concordat; they had the feeling that they led a cause which was victoriously advancing, while they repressed more and more the external development of power on the part of the church. Royal laws decreed that in no place should there be allowed more than ten ecclesiastics to a thousand inhabitants; forbade the acquisition of additional possessions by the church, and the erection of more houses for religious worship without royal permission; recognized the papal bulls as valid, only on the condition that the sovereign had expressly authorized them; declared all church censures to be without binding force if they were aimed at subjects for fulfilling the law or official orders. Furthermore, the number of monasteries was diminished.

Hand in hand with this legislation went positive measures to raise the well-being of the kingdom. With a view to a just division of taxes, which should no longer burden the poor and favor the well-to-classes, Charles ordered a new register of lands to be prepared; and, in part, this was followed by the results desired. The government was not less attentive to the construction of roads and to the preservation of public safety. Such and similar regulations made the king's name respected, facilitated a good administration, and filled the treasury, while the people were freed from excessive burdens. Thus the government of Charles VII. became exceedingly popular; men breathed again after the many centuries of foreign rule, now at an end. In his endeavor to restrain the excessive power of the clergy, the king had the people, notwithstanding their bigotry, on his side. When Cardinal Spinelli, Archbishop of Naples, attempted to introduce the Inquisition there, all classes in the city rose against him. Charles justified their action, and prohibited every kind of secret ecclesiastical court (1745).

Artistic interests were not alien to the mind of Charles, although a special taste for art was not at home in the Naples of that day. The king adorned his capital with new streets, with pleasure grounds on the shore, and with beautiful edifices. He placed on a steep height the Castle of Capodimonte, which he soon transformed into a museum to contain the magnificent Farnese collections of art, coins, and books, which he brought with him from Parma to his new kingdom. In a single year, 1737, he erected an opera house which for a long time was considered the largest and finest in the world. In Caserta, Charles VII. established a new, stately residence. The structure is certainly more remarkable for its magnitude and grandeur than for true architectural beauty. Under his government the work of the disinterment of Herculaneum began (1738), and afterwards (1748) of Pompeii. He established a Herculaneum academy, and besides promoted the improvement of schools of learning, and of the university.

In the southern part of the peninsula, as in the northern, sagacious princes strove zealously to elevate the intellectual and literary condition of the people. It cannot be said that their praiseworthy endeavors were crowned with important results. The mass of the population were sunk in ignorance, superstition, and were in the condition of gypsies. The higher orders, with a few famous exceptions, especially in Lombardy and Tuscany, possessed only a superficial

eulture, and had a fondness for external splendor and for frivolous enjoyments, which at that time, unfortunately, stood in the closest connection in the south with unrestrained immorality. Even in the Paris of the regency, immorality had never been accepted so entirely as a matter of course, so indifferently and so shamelessly, as in Italy in the eighteenth century. That marriage was only a legal contract respecting property, which otherwise imposed no obligation, was as readily and completely understood among the peasants as by the aristocracy. One cannot withhold from the Italian church the heavy reproach of not having done the least thing for the moral improvement either of the higher classes or of the passionate and thievish masses.

No wonder that in such a land science and literature were no longer able to find a favorable soil. Even the natural sciences, which in the seventeenth century had been the chief glory of Italy, had no really important representative. The aesthetic treatises of the elegant and refined jurist Gravina, and the philosophic and literary contemplations of the Marquis Maffei, have little scientific value. It must even be admitted that the "Book of Complete Italian Poetry" by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, is destitute of permanent value, since it proceeded from untenable suppositions, which furthermore are not improved by a superficial execution. Far superior was Muratori as an historian. To be sure, he could not free himself from the general tendency which historiography had taken in Italy at his time. All independence of spirit had forsaken the Italian historians of that day; they could not form a fine political judgment from a free and high point of view. The historical inquirers and historical writers clung carefully to the material, above which they did not venture to rise to wider views and to a freer method of writing. They were either antiquarians or chroniclers, who with the most minute industry and with astonishing patience, but with utter want of a critical spirit, examined and described, in foolish detail, the past of their native land. The absence of criticism, at least, cannot be objected to in Muratori, who greatly surpassed the historians of his day in critical capacity. Even now his "Antiquities of Italy in the Middle Ages" and his "Italian Annals" are real treasure-houses for the Italian historian. Comprehensive opinions and vivid representation ought not to be expected from the learned abbé. Marquis Maffei — already mentioned — was then occupied with his history of Verona and other works of an antiqua-

rian nature ; he is the best representative of the spiritless industry of the compiler, who wrote down his thoughts in numberless quartos and folios, enjoyable only to the sickly and exaggerated local patriotism, and the petty understanding of the Italians of that day.

From the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, Italian prose was influenced by the style of the French 'philosophers,' and above all by Voltaire. In truth, the imitators were far from knowing how to equal the original. Pleasing, lively description, and superficiality rather than solid reflection, were distinguishing marks of a numerous band of Italian writers, who imagined themselves walking in the footsteps of great French masters of literature. The best and most intellectual among these was a friend of Frederick the Great, Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764). His "Newtonian Philosophy for Ladies" is an elegant popularization of difficult scientific questions ; his occasional verses, travels, and other letters, as well as his aesthetic treatises, indicate a spirit refined, clear, but by no means creative.

Worse still during this period was the condition of poetic art in Italy : originality, the last remains of power and freshness, was lost. The first half of the eighteenth century was the time of deepest degradation for Italian poetry. Lyric odes had degenerated into a senseless jingle of rhymes and vapid sonnetizing. Hundreds and hundreds 'poetized' actively, and with a fearful monotony.

The drama stood completely under the influence of Corneille and Racine. The Bolognese Piero Jacopo Martelli, who died in 1727, was the first who substituted French for Spanish models. He even introduced the rhymed Alexandrines, which were wholly unsuited to the Italian stage ; people styled them, in his honor, 'Martelliani.' The best in this mistaken effort was accomplished by the many-sided Marquis Scipio Maffei with "Merope" (1714), which, on its appearance, aroused universal admiration, and went through not less than sixty editions. But to unprejudiced readers it seemed hardly intelligible how such an impression could have been caused by this unpoetical and stale production. The development of the play is too artificial, accident plays far too great a part, and the characters introduced awaken throughout no interest.

The comic stage had at first remained under Spanish influence in such a manner that for a long time it was contented to perform simply the Spanish comedies as translated. Finally Giovanni Battista Fagioli of Florence endeavored to re-establish comedy on French

models, but he was too deficient in inventive gifts and in comic power to prevent his productions from being speedily devoted to oblivion. Comedy sank to burlesque in the hands of the rhymester Piero Chiari, whose pieces, however, appealed to the corrupt taste of the times.

Against the universal imitation of French poetry, the Roman Paolo Rolli (1687–1764) endeavored to set himself. Led to London by a chain of happy events, he felt, not less than Voltaire, Montesquieu, and so many others, the influence of the band of superior spirits contained in the British capital at that time. He translated into Italian many English poems, among them Milton's "Paradise Lost." With equal zeal he translated the ancients, whom he imitated in the happiest manner in his odes and elegies, without, however, seizing their originality and naturalness. His odes belong to the most beautiful, his elegies to the most pleasing productions of Italian literature. But he was not able then to form a school, and even outside of a narrow circle he could scarcely secure assistance. Altogether too powerful and altogether too convenient was the practice of imitating French rhetoric.

As yet but one independent intellect had the poetic art of Italy discovered in that age, Nicolo Fortinguerra (1674–1735); he was a Roman with wit and understanding, and reproduced in a genial manner Ariosto's epie in the comic-romantic-heroic poem, "Richardett." He purposely exaggerated, without falling into coarseness, Ariosto's mockery and jesting. In this respect he manifested a refinement and strength of satire which place him far above his predecessors, Berni and Tassoni. That he obviously poured out his mockery upon the bigotry of the Middle Ages and the senseless miracles contained in the holy legends, was in keeping with the universal tendency of the age. Yet he exhibited also ability to speak the language of genuine feeling.

The opera was the favorite mode of scenic representation in the eighteenth century. In accordance with the frivolous spirit of Italian society, scenic effects cast into the shade the poetry of the text and of the music. An improvement was here accomplished by means of Apostolus Zeno, a Venetian of Greek descent (1669–1750), who, especially in the serious opera, created with poetical feeling and sound understanding works of enduring worth, which, even without the musical accompaniment, were not devoid of impressiveness. One can boldly call them the first genuine Italian tragedies. Oper-

atic poetry was brought to its perfection by Piero Antonio Metastasio of Assisi (1698–1782) in productions which are distinguished by a noble style, pure lyric character, and euphony in the structure of the verse. Far more than Zeno he seized upon the essential character of the music, whose demands he consequently met in a far higher degree. His poetry has a tenderness and delicacy of expression, and a noble harmony of language, which at no other time and by no other people have ever been attained. His words themselves are music, which suits itself in a wonderful way to the feeling to be expressed.

These masters, to whom the famous composers of the Neapolitan school lent their aid, spread through all Europe the renown of the Italian opera. Especially in the court of Vienna did they find enthusiastic reception. The Emperor Charles VI. appointed, one after the other, Zeno and Metastasio as his poets to the court theatre. The only glory which now remained to the highly talented Italians was to supply the world with ballet masters, and with writers and composers of operas. But the decision of the great political questions, as also the lead in the intellectual development of humanity, was exclusively in the hands of the northern peoples.

## BOOK II.

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EUROPE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF  
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.



## EUROPE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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### CHAPTER VII.

#### THE YOUTH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

THE actual situation of Europe at this time presented very little that corresponded with the great advances which the 'enlightenment,' keenness of thought, and the sciences, together with political sagacity and political interest, had effected among all the peoples. To the casual observer this part of the world appeared to be in a state of general decay. The forms of the past were becoming disintegrated, while the new, which was in preparation, had not taken its place. Characters were weak and undecided: one saw neither great, popular, heroic movements, as in the sixteenth century, nor proud individualities such as Richelieu, Louis XIV., Cromwell, William III. The mighty Spanish power, the champion of Catholicism, was completely crushed: Sweden, the small, valiant Protestant state, was mutilated and enfeebled. The republic of the free Netherlands, formerly the first commercial power of the world, was paralyzed commercially and politically. France, after a troublous time of internal disturbance, of external defeats, and of financial disorder, was astonished herself, in a measure, by the advantages won in the War of the Polish Succession, but felt herself no surer with regard to her future, and was rather filled with growing uneasiness and agitation. Austria was overcome and humiliated, and, through the extinction of her ancient ruling house, was exposed to the greatest uncertainty. The German empire had become a headless and powerless 'monstrum,' as sagacious and patriotic jurists had complainingly depicted it. And finally, Russia, which under Peter the Great had seemed ready to contribute a new and fresh element to the organization of the European nationalities, had now fallen back into the

Asiatic system of a sultan and a harem, into a sickly, rather than a vigorous, life.

The internal conditions of the states were no better. With incredible obstinacy the old held on, and defended itself powerfully against the new that was shooting up and which must take its place. There still ruled everywhere narrow-hearted prejudices of birth and exclusiveness of creed. In the highest positions control was exercised by virtue of connections, kinship, management of mistresses, and selfishness. Out of anxiety to yield the least possible to the already discovered revolutionary tendencies, all reform was carefully avoided; administration and the maintenance of justice were neglected; taxes and finances degenerated more and more into an inextricable chaos. Hence were occasioned everywhere, in the masses of the population, discontent and disaffection toward the government; instead of patriotism, there existed indifference, or even mockery, in regard to the misfortunes of their own country.

Into this sultry atmosphere a reviving storm-blast was now to blow, introducing fresh and vital currents. It came from Prussia, from Frederick II.

With the appearance of Frederick the Great upon the theatre of the world, there began for Prussians, for Germans in general, an entirely new period of history. This brilliant monarch is the creator of that great power which has understood how to do that for which even the greatest emperors of the German nation were not competent, — to bring together a strongly compacted system of states of German descent in one firmly bound harmonious organism. With Frederick II., for the first time, Prussia threw her good sword into the scale of European policy. With him rose up by the side of cosmopolitan Austria a purely German state, whose aim and whose result was the erection of Germany into a factor of European polities. Frederick II. is only the natural successor of the Great Elector and of King Frederick William; but still his work and activity were different from theirs. However, his wonderful creative activity only became possible through his hard early training. His motto, like that of his house, was self-sacrifice and a sense of duty. Frederick William was married to a consort who in every respect was the exact opposite of her husband. At the splendid court of Hanover, Sophia Dorothea (Fig. 31) had received the most refined culture, a sensibility for the pleasures of life, for joyous and noble gratifications. In her consort the queen found much to censure; the simple,

narrow household in Berlin and Potsdam, devoid of all that contributed to the adornment and to the higher enjoyment of life, did not satisfy her. Thus one might say that family contentions



FIG. 31. — Queen Sophia Dorothea. After a copper-plate engraving, 1732, by Wolfgang; original painting by Antoine Pesne.

were foreshadowed for the children, when, on January 24, 1712, about half-past eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the future Frederick II. was born (Fig. 32). He was a child of delicate constitution,

who seemed, however, more likely to live than his two brothers, who had died in their earliest infancy.

It is surprising and a striking proof of the irresistible influence of the French system at that day, that Frederick William, the bitter enemy of everything French, committed the early education of his son, as well as that of his daughter Sophia Wilhelmina, who was several years older than Frederick, to an exiled Huguenot lady, Madame de Rocoule, who did not understand a word of German, and thus imparted to the children from an early day a preference and a finer feeling altogether in favor of the French. The entire education continued to be in French, except when the prince was to be punished; and then he received German catechisms and hymns.



FIG. 32.—Medal to commemorate the birth of Frederick the Great. Silver.  
(Royal Cabinet of Coins, Berlin.)

books to be committed to memory. When the crown-prince entered his seventh year, he was intrusted to the control of men,—to two valiant officers, General Finckenstein and Colonel Kalkstein. Highly significant is the direction given them by Frederick William himself. He forbade the study of the family history of the Hohenzollerns, and desired instead to have the history of Prussia learned; also no one should flatter the prince under penalty of the royal displeasure. Latin and ancient history, which seemed to him useless pedantry for a prince, were never to be taught him, but only modern history, statecraft, and geography. In regard to that which constitutes education in the narrower sense, the prince was to be taught to become a good evangelical Christian, a good housekeeper, shunning extravagance and gaming, and finally it was to be impressed upon him most

energetically that he would be a despicable man if he were not to become an efficient soldier. To these precepts corresponded the plan of study for Frederick until 1725, — prayer, Bible-reading, fencing, and religious instruction. Every morning the heir to the throne went to the parade with his father. On Sunday he marched to church at the head of his company.

The king desired, therefore, to make of his son a man like himself. — God-fearing, soldierly, frugal, modest at bottom, and yet conscious of his own desert; self-sacrificing for the state and the army, the foe of all effeminaey, but also of everything that adorns and beautifies life. The future, like the present, ruler of Prussia was to be only an administrator and a soldier. Frederick William wished that his “dear successor” should possess the qualities which his father lacked, and by a bolder and more skilful policy, as he wrote in 1722, “secure the pretensions and lands that pertain to our house through God and of right.” But this also he purposed to achieve through a heightening of his own character in his son. But he overlooked the fact that he imagined the latter to be formed precisely like himself by nature.

It was indeed a hard, dry thing, this system of education, for the successor to the throne. To be a soldier without inclination, without enthusiasm, without great aims, — how little could this suit a sensitive, aesthetically endowed, high-soaring spirit like that of young Frederick. This discord was bound to grow when Frederick William, with the ignorance of men peculiar to him, chose as tutor for the young prince a man who did not in the least suit his, the king’s, intentions. He introduced the foe into his son’s heart, and through many years remarked nothing of it.

This tutor was Jacques Duhan de Jandun, a French immigrant, a man of many-sided culture, and very clever, as skilful with the sword as with the pen. But Duhan was no way disposed to give effect to the father’s narrow views with regard to the crown-prince. For that he was himself far too intellectually endowed and with too vivacious a mind, and was also constituted with too little of the methodical and pedagogical spirit. His inclination was rather toward the aesthetically beautiful and the education of a man of the world. Externally, indeed, everything was regulated according to the literal directions of the king. But while Frederick drilled and prayed and plodded at history, geography, and statistics with Kalkstein, Jandun disclosed to him wholly different paths,

taught him the ancient classics,—in translations,—and especially the French writers of the ‘great century.’ He opened before him the view of all that is beautiful and noble, and filled his soul with lofty aspirations; but he showed him also in those authors a world of sensuous enjoyment, to enter into which the growing prince was impelled with ever-increasing desire. The more rigid, repulsive, and burdensome the compulsion imposed upon him every day and every hour, the more impetuously did he long for freedom, diversion, enjoyment. He depicted this many years later in a poetical epistle to Duhan. “In the arms of Error, upon the knees of Ignorance, reposed my timid innocence in deep slumber, when with thee Minerva appeared, a torch in her hand, to show me the way to Immortality.” The two governors, Finckenstein and Kalkstein, observed with solicitude to the king, in 1727, that the prince had “not much profited in eight months by the instruction respecting Christianity.” Confirmation in April of the same year was a purely external ceremony for the youthful prince. He was in the right road, under Duhan’s lead, to become a shallow ‘philosopher’ according to the conception of the prevailing French ‘enlightenment,’ an aesthetically cultivated Epicurean.

This direction was furthered by an event which formed an epoch in the history of Frederick’s youth (PLATE XII.),—a visit which he made with his father to the Saxon court at Dresden during the carnival of 1728. Here he saw a pomp and elegance which necessarily made the deeper impression upon him the less he had hitherto even imagined such scenes. With assiduity Augustus devoted himself to debauching his northern guests: and if the king himself remained firm, this cannot be maintained concerning his son. The youth entered into a love-affair with an elegant young lady of the Polish-Saxon court, the more pleasing to him that it was based not only on sensual inclination, but also upon a common interest for literature and poetry. At the same time, the decided musical taste of the crown-prince found fresh stimulus at the admirable court-chapel of Dresden. At the request of Frederick’s mother, King Augustus made over to him the eminent flute-player, Quantz, who then became his teacher and friend.

On returning to Berlin, the prince gave himself wholly to his preference for art and literature, and also for good cheer and physical enjoyment. He neglected soldierly pursuits, bore himself suitably to his station, dressed with elegance, and avoided labors and

PLATE XII.



Crown Prince Frederick.

From the original painting by Thomas Huber (1700-1779). Berlin, Hohenzollern Museum in the Palace of Monbijou.

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV., page 212.



deprivations, while he formed a close friendship with two amiable, but dissolute, officers, Lieutenants von Keith and von Katte. In such company he was far too much addicted to the worst excesses, as he afterward acknowledged. He also incurred debts to a great amount; and as often as his father paid them, they increased the more.

With concern and with anger Frederick William perceived this change in the life of his son. Was this modish weakling, this flute-blown poetaster, this extravagant and wasteful boy, really a suitable ruler for small, poor Prussia? Only with the utmost conscientiousness and frugality, with constant devotion to the state, with Draconian discipline and self-restraint, had the Hohenzollerns elevated their small and scattered territories to the position of a European power, and to an effective unity. To this great object Frederick William had unhesitatingly devoted his life. Should now everything be put to hazard by a prince who knew pleasure only, but nothing of duty?

According to his lights, the king sought by severity, by public evidence of his disfavor, to lead the prince back to obedience and to a dutiful demeanor. Frederick certainly found it hard that his father treated him so severely and repulsively. But instead of improving, instead of apprehending the honorable and just purpose of his father, his proper and necessary objects, and by respectful obedience and worthy deportment regaining the lost favor, he sought it by flattery and falsehood, while in secret he continued his forbidden enjoyments, and, before his comrades, made sport of the things and the men that were loved by his father. No wonder that the irritation of the latter became more and more bitter, and that he utterly despaired of his son's moral worth. Frederick was rightfully bound, in conformity to the greater elevation of his spirit and his gifted nature, to raise himself above the narrow limitations to which his father desired to subject him. But unfortunately, in the way and manner in which he did this, and even in the occasion of the conflict, the wrong was wholly on his side. The severe chastisements which he drew upon himself from his father he had in good part deserved; at all events, they saved him by steeling his character, whose weaknesses were repressed, and its great features thus developed.

Frederick William imputed to his heir the worst designs. The difference of views between father and son threatened to become

intolerable. Under natural conditions the prince's mother, Sophia Dorothea, and his older sister Wilhelmina, would have been obliged to do everything to put an end to these occurrences, and to establish peace once more. Unhappily both ladies saw in the king only a tyrant, to deceive whom was an excusable and even a praiseworthy act. They therefore took the part of the prince. Moreover, an affair which closely combined personal and political interests, but which extremely increased the discord in the royal family, soon arose.

For a long time a marriage of the Princess Wilhelmina with Prince Frederick of Wales had been planned between the two mothers: and Frederick William also was fully agreed. But in Great Britain the affair was conceived of in an entirely different light. The union appeared there an act of such special condescension to the royal house of Prussia, that the latter must necessarily purchase it by a close treaty; that is, by submission to the political schemes of England. In confirmation of this arrangement the crown-prince was also to marry the English princess Amelia. Not before all these matters were settled could the marriage of Wilhelmina be considered. But Frederick William would not consent to the conditions. He desired to maintain the dignity of his house and the independence of his policy. But the more urgently Frederick desired the English alliance, from which he promised himself greater freedom and independence, the more did he, his sister and mother, perceive in the king's conduct only tyranny and the wish to destroy their happiness for life, and to keep them in permanent slavery. They went so far as to enter into secret negotiations with the English behind the back of the king and his ministers. On the other hand, the imperial envoy, who was hostile to the English marriage, did not hesitate to bribe the king's confidant, General Grumbkow, as well as the Prussian envoy in London, Reichenbach, so that in an unprecedented manner they betrayed their master to the imperial court. A catastrophe was at hand when fortune once more favored the plans of the queen, and ended the family quarrels.

When, in the year 1730, a conflict threatened between England and her allies against Austria alone on the other side, the British government desired to engage Prussia to maintain at least neutrality. For this purpose it sent a certain Hotham to Berlin in order to combine those political designs with the long-planned matrimonial arrangements. This, however, did not altogether succeed; meantime, however, the marriage negotiations received a decided advance,

and the union of Wilhelmina with the Prince of Wales was agreed upon to take place immediately, and that of Frederick with an English princess in the near future. Hotham had also entered into secret arrangements with the crown-prince, who had given him his word that he would consent to marry only the daughter of an English prince, and besought support in case he should have to flee. Everything seemed to be well settled, when the unskilfulness and the urgency with which Hotham sought to bring about the downfall of Grumbkow provoked extremely the irritable and suspicious king. Hotham was compelled to leave with the utmost despatch. Of the English marriages nothing more was said.

The father had heard of his son's secret negotiations with Hotham and of his fresh and considerable debts. He regarded him as false and deceitful and as his worst enemy, and finally was so enraged against the crown-prince that he now overstepped all bounds. At the great Saxon review at Mühlberg, to which princes and lords had come together in crowds from all parts, the Prussian heir to the throne, now eighteen years of age, was flogged like a school-boy. From this rough and tyrannical life he desired to escape by immediate flight, and turned for that purpose to the Saxon minister, who, however, exacted from him the promise as long as he was the guest of King Augustus not to expose him to the suspicion of privy by an attempt at flight. After returning to Potsdam, Frederick's design to secure for his plan the assistance of Guy Dickens, secretary of the English embassy, met with no better success.

But the idea of flight was once for all established in the mind of the crown-prince. For this he constantly relied upon a few friends and servants,—upon Lieutenant von Keith in Wesel, and especially upon Lieutenant von Katte, a young man of thorough cultivation, full of enterprise, but wholly deficient in foresight and prudence. When the king announced to his son that he must accompany him upon a journey to Upper Germany, the determination of Frederick was firmly fixed to profit by this opportunity to execute his intention: he desired to go to France and thence to The Hague. There Keith and Katte were to meet him, and Katte especially was to bring with him his money and jewels. The younger Keith, a page of the king, was to be directly helpful in the flight. But after a first attempt, which failed, the page lost courage, and confessed all to the king.

What a happy dispensation for Frederick, and, above all, what

salvation for Prussia, that he was unable to accomplish his plan of flight! Doubtless the king would have disinherited the fugitive, and would have appointed his second son, Augustus William, to the throne. What would have become of the Prussian state without Frederick the Great, without Frederick the incomparable?

This confession of young Keith brought to the young prince the most fearful trial, and the gloomiest period of suffering. With deep anger the king received the intelligence, which indeed came to him not altogether unexpectedly. He restrained himself until he had reached Prussian soil, at Wesel. But then (August, 1730) he declared the prince a state-prisoner, for he regarded his crime as desertion. Subjected by his father to a rigorous examination, Frederick frankly confessed his designs, and named his accomplices, whom he had warned long before, and now believed to be in safety. Lieutenant Keith had fortunately escaped to The Hague, and thence to England; but Katte had hesitated so long that he was seized. Frederick learned the misfortune of his friend, and did everything to save him. Although on his return, which led him to the fortress of Küstrin, he was treated in the roughest manner, he took all the blame upon himself, concealed the participation of his mother and sister, and prayed his father to make him suffer alone, but to regard Katte merely as the one led astray.

But in this he had no success with his father, whose irritation rather increased. His rage knew no bounds. Unfortunately some letters from the Princess Wilhelmina, which certainly contained no tender expressions for their father, were found among Frederick's papers. When they arrived at Berlin the king ill-treated her in such a manner that she became violently ill, and he kept her for a whole year a prisoner in her chamber. All persons who had ever stood in connection with her and the crown-prince were chastised with unbridled severity. Among others was Duhan de Jandun, who was banished to inhospitable Memel.

After such proceedings everybody anticipated for the crown-prince also the worst possible fate. He sat in a locked and strongly guarded apartment, without any company, without books or any occupation whatever; in short, he was no better treated than a common criminal, who deserved to die. He bore these deprivations with immovable patience. The captious charges which the king brought against him he answered with spirit, discretion, and at the same time modesty. But Frederick William assembled a court-martial

to condemn his son and his accomplices. The meritorious and also strongly religious Lieutenant-General von Schulenburg was president of the tribunal; General Schwerin was also a member. The tradition that the court-martial condemned the prince to death, and that the execution of this sentence by the king was prevented only through the interposition of foreign sovereigns, especially the emperor, is completely refuted by the records. The judges declared with one voice that it did not belong to them as vassals and subjects to pronounce sentence on members of the royal family. The majority of the council thought, moreover, that the conduct of the prince had nothing in common with desertion, and was already by his severe arrest sufficiently punished.

This expression by men for whom the king cherished the highest esteem necessarily disconcerted him with regard to his violent resolutions. These, as is now proved by the declaration of Frederick William under his own hand, meant exclusion from the throne. If he wrote the emperor that he had pardoned his son entirely out of regard to his request, that is just a courteous phrase, nothing more. But before the actual forgiveness the prince was obliged to undergo fearful trials.

The council of war had condemned the unfortunate Katte to a lifelong imprisonment in a fortress. This sentence threw the king into a great rage. He perceived in such comparative mildness only an exhibition of fear, the desire to stand well with the future sovereign. He imagined that after his death Frederick would take Katte into favor, and even reward and promote him; and in this manner it appeared to him that fidelity on the part of the army commanders and discipline among the soldiers would be greatly endangered, a ruinous example being set before them. He therefore changed the sentence to the penalty of death. In vain were all the prayers and pleadings of distinguished and deserving relatives of Katte.

Of wholly superfluous cruelty was the command of the king that Katte must die before the eyes of the prince for whose sake he suffered. Frederick was compelled to appear at the window. Katte, who had already bared his neck on the scaffold, saw him. With difficulty the prince uttered the words, "Katte, I ask your forgiveness a thousand times;" then swooned away, whilst the head of his friend was separated from the body. Such hours matured the frivolous youth rapidly into the earnest-minded man. Soon after this the king granted him forgiveness, at least in form.

In other cases of disagreements between kings and their successors, the opposition has been usually on political and religious questions. Here there was nothing of the kind. Only personal matters were at issue between Frederick and his father; but precisely for this reason was an adjustment, a reconciliation, possible. Frederick had gravely erred. The king, certainly with the best purposes, had practised repression with rough severity. While the former acknowledged his fault, and the latter opened his soul to milder and more humane views, they were approaching each other, at first indeed with distrust and personal aversion, and yet with the candid desire to overcome such feelings, so far as they could.

At the end of November, 1730, Frederick was assigned to the Chamber of War and Domains in Küstrin, to acquire experience in administrative affairs. His situation was still one of extreme oppression. Music and society were forbidden, as well as all reading with the exception of books of edification and documents relating to the administration of the government. In the chamber itself he sat below at the table, in the humblest place. Forcibly was his mind directed to strong, earnest thoughts; but in this rough school he was preparing himself in advance for his kingly calling, not only in procuring for himself the needful knowledge and facilities in administration, but also in applying his understanding to the needs and interests, the burdens and the wishes, of his subjects. The intercourse with earnest, conscientious men, who were not afraid to tell him even disagreeable truths, convinced him that other things in the world possessed worth besides superficial cleverness or diversified elegance. Besides, his father's favor returned at last. The court of Vienna believed the crown-prince to be so broken and humbled that it could easily make him its tool. At the request of Seckendorf, General Grumbkow, who hitherto had acted as the most mischievous enemy of Frederick, now sought to secure his forgiveness, while interposing sometimes secretly, and at others openly, between him and his father. In fact, he communicated every letter to Seckendorf. Of all these treacherous intrigues Frederick William had no suspicion, and saw only how Grumbkow was changing his opinion concerning the prince. The king had been delighted in having succeeded in forming a contract of marriage between Wilhelmina and the hereditary prince of Bayreuth, who had long been preferred by him. A few months later, on August 15, 1731, the king sent for his son to meet him in Küstrin. The interview between father and son

resulted better than one would have thought. Greater freedom of movement for the prince, the formation of a small court, and a better position in the chamber, were the fortunate results of this occurrence. Frederick sought also to meet his father's views by frequently urging to be given military occupation. Along with this he zealously prosecuted administrative and military studies. Among other things he wrote an important political treatise. It showed what great plans were stirring the soul of the young prince. He conceived the plan of effecting the acquisition of West Prussia, then still belonging to Poland, in order to make a connection between the main part of the monarchy and East Prussia. The menacing position of Sweden must be destroyed by the conquest of Swedish Pomerania; thus the way for gaining possession of Mecklenburg would be laid open, and therewith control could be acquired of the entire Baltic coast. Also against their French neighbors, the Westphalian provinces of Prussia on the Rhine were to be made secure, especially Cleves and Mark. Moreover, the Jülich-Berg succession was to be finally acquired, and thus there would be established on the Lower Rhine a compact and extended Prussian territory. Thus the ascendancy of Prussia in Northern Germany, from the Niemen as far as the Mense, her rôle as guardian of the frontiers on the east and west, were the objects of the policy of Frederick already in his youth. Prince Eugene was not wrong when he remarked: "What far-seeing ideas has this young lord; there must be in him no lack of vivacity and understanding, and consequently with time he will become the more dangerous to his neighbors, if he is not induced to give up his present principles." Frederick himself was to accomplish a part of his youthful projects; the remainder had their fulfilment at a later day.

He had previously believed in an unconditional predestination, in a stern, comfortless fatalism. Out of this opinion, at his father's desire, preacher Müller had brought him, but only to deliver him over to complete scepticism in religion. The philosophers who finally enchainèd him were Locke and Bayle, the empiric and the sceptic. But henceforth he sought the enjoyment denied to him in religious conviction, in entire devotion to rendering his state flourishing and great, which he promoted with no less self-denial and personal sacrifice than the pious fanatic exhibits in promoting his own salvation and that of others. With regard also to the soldier's life, so contemned by him at an early day, he had become of a differ-

ent opinion, to a greater extent than his father had ventured to hope. While his thoughts were directed to the enlargement and strengthening of Prussia, he clearly perceived that this was possible only with the help of a well-disciplined and loyal army. Subsequently he devoted the greatest attention to the military service.

Together with such occupations the crown-prince cherished particularly a preference for the society of beautiful, intellectual ladies; and the wife of Colonel von Weech imbued him with a lively sentiment. His poetical effusions still plainly disclose to us the soul of young Frederick.

Gradually there was an inviting prospect of leaving Küstrin, which he continued to regard as a prison. He was allowed to come to Berlin to enjoy the festivities that followed his sister's marriage in November, 1731, and to see again his nearest kindred, and to appear at court. His serious, manly deportment, his intelligence, and his eloquence awakened universal astonishment. Frederick was obliged once more to return to Küstrin; but now a friendly intercourse between his father and himself took place, and, in February, 1732, he could again become a soldier, and received the command of the Goltz regiment of infantry. With its first battalion he was transferred to Ruppin.

As yet, however, the measure of his sufferings was not full. He must be made to understand that with utter disregard of the wishes he had expressed with reference to marriage, his father, even in this weightiest occasion of his life, had decided concerning him in a manner wholly arbitrary and despotic. At the urgent desire of the court of Vienna, Frederick William decided to marry him to a niece of the empress, the Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick-Bevern. His father's recommendation that she was "modest and retiring, neither homely nor yet beautiful, above all a God-fearing woman," could not please him. Furthermore, he knew well that, through Grumbkow's intermediation, Seckendorf, the imperial envoy, had effected the entire arrangement. The same court of Vienna which had already foiled his earnest wish and his sister's for an English alliance, which had made his father its slave, urged on him this unwelcome bride in order to hold him in its fetters for life.

To avoid another imprisonment at Küstrin, the prince was compelled to submit. The formal engagement was made in March, 1732.



PLATE XIII.



Queen Elizabeth Christina.

From the original painting by Thomas Huber (1700-1779). Berlin, Hohenzollern Museum in the Palace of Monbijou.

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV., page 221.

As Frederick at Küstrin had formed himself to be an administrator in state affairs, so at Ruppin he was developed as a soldier. Gradually he began to perceive that in the apparently childish and comfortless military life, there dwelt a deeper worth: that the inimitable skill in military exercises, which had been beaten into the Prussian soldiers, must secure them a great superiority on the battlefield; that the rapidity of their fire in itself rendered them equal to an enemy twice or thrice as strong. He devoted himself to his military occupations with such zeal that even the king, almost against his inclination, expressed his satisfaction with the performancees of Frederick and his regiment. Now he urged upon the king by force to secure effectually his rightful claims upon Jülich and Berg; now to take possession of Polish West Prussia. The constant use of his father, and the scornful ill-treatment of him, by the government of Charles VI., filled the prince with wrath: already foreign ambassadors were of the opinion that the emperor would one day discover in him an irreconcileable enemy.

In June, 1733, Frederick went with his father and the entire court to the summer castle of Salzdahlum, Brunswick, where on the twelfth occurred his marriage with Elizabeth Christina (PLATE XIII.) of Brunswick-Bevern. Meanwhile the princess had changed to advantage: she possessed judgment and understanding, had become more vivacious, and showed an exceedingly benevolent heart. It was her misfortune that her mother had always trained her despotically, and in complete seclusion, so that she was awkward and embarrassed in company. She was rather beautiful than ill-favored, was well-grown, with brilliant coloring: but the lack of grace spoiled her charms. However, during the first years of their marriage the relation of the crown-prince to his wife, if not very loving, was yet tolerable. He esteemed her gentle disposition, her obliging and complaisant demeanor toward himself. Perhaps a bearing more independent and self-asserting would have served her more effectually in the future. It was, however, disastrous for this marriage that it remained unfruitful.

The king assigned to the young pair the domain of Ruppin. Since the crown-prince was especially pleased with the castle of Rheinsberg, the king purchased it, and ordered it to be fitted up for him. Before the repairs were completed an urgent desire of Frederick was accomplished in being allowed to accompany the Prussian contingent, which in the summer of 1734 was ordered to fight, under

Prince Eugene, against the French, on the Rhine. If few laurels were to be won, the prince here saw one form of war, and heard for the first time balls whistling around him. He learned thus to master the feeling of physical discomfort from which no novice is exempt, and to regain cool courage. In reality there was indeed little by which to profit; and therefore the next year the king properly forbade his going again to the army, since for a crown-prince of Prussia it was not 'glorious' to be present at the enforced inactivity of the imperial army. But in order to show that the prohibition was in no sense an expression of dissatisfaction with the prince, Frederick William appointed him major-general. Not less successful was the prince in gaining within the administrative field the full approval of his father. On a journey to East Prussia late in the summer and during the fall of 1735, he manifested such insight into affairs, such knowledge of men, and such great zeal, that the king, in general harsh in his language, was not niggardly of praise, and in every respect executed the projects of his son. Despite many acts of injustice and excessive ill-treatment, Frederick William had, nevertheless, trained up a true king in the heir to his throne, and freed the pure gold from the dross which threatened to cover it forever and render it worthless. It might be said that the years of Frederick's apprenticeship were now ended; and in happy cultivation of his powers, he could spend the period which still separated him from the highest dignity and its responsible duties.

In a pleasing style he installed himself in the recently completed castle at Rheinsberg. The amiable grace of the crown-prince gave animation to the joyful company of the little court. At times the king and queen also appeared at Rheinsberg, but commonly the company consisted of but fifteen persons, and no great number of guests. The four years at Rheinsberg are the only period when Frederick led a common life with his consort. She exercised some influence on the prince: and in his absence he wrote to her regularly, not without assuring her that he was "wholly hers," or "that he was awaiting with much impatience the moment for again embracing her." With youthful zest she took a lively part in all the little pleasures of Rheinsberg,—the dances, dramatic representations, and other performances. As might be expected with Frederick's musical tastes, concerts were highly relished, and in them the crown-prince usually participated.

A number of amiable young noblemen and ladies formed the

circle of the princely pair. Baron de la Motte Fouqué, the son of a Protestant refugee, a brave officer of fine culture, managed the theatrical entertainments of the little circle. Another member of the Rheinsberg circle was Georg Wenzel von Knobelsdorff, who, forced to leave the army by failing health, had devoted himself to the arts, and had especially cultivated architecture. He was Frederick's artistic counsellor and architect. In that capacity he was the first representative of that classic school which devoted itself to the Grecian style exclusively. Frederick's sound understanding, and his preference for French methods, could not long be in agreement with Knobelsdorff's prepossessions in favor of the antique. The elegant, but adventurous, Frenchman, Chasot, the intellectual and learned French Reformed preacher Jordan, the faithful and thoroughly cultivated Kayserlingk, a Courlander, belong equally among the confidential friends of the Rheinsberg period. In vain would one try to discover in that circle a man of surpassing abilities. The one really brilliant member of the society is Frederick himself. His dislike of German learned men, his father's jealousy, and the scantiness of his pecuniary means, explain the circumstance that he was able to draw no important personality to Rheinsberg. By wretched expedients was Frederick compelled to obtain as an alms the money needed to maintain his little court. For Frederick William saw more and more in his gifted son his superior, and, as he was forced to confess to himself, the successor ardently expected by all. He continually upbraided him with free-thinking and atheism. "The king's disposition," Frederick wrote in 1739, "is so bitter, and his hatred of me is active in so many forms, that were I not what I am, I would long ago have asked for my dismissal. I would beg my bread elsewhere, rather than live with the mortifications which I must here undergo. The king's obstinate persistence in treating me badly is nothing that is whispered in one's ears, but is the talk of the town; everybody is a witness of it, and everybody speaks of it."

He poured out his heart in the letters he exchanged with Voltaire, with whom he commenced a correspondence immediately after entering Rheinsberg. This is for almost the entire life of the king the richest source of knowledge respecting his inmost thought. Not so much with the poet as with the philosopher and thinker did he desire to place himself in contact, and by this means to become cultivated. But Voltaire felt himself much flattered that so great a prince should offer him the tribute of honest admiration, and

beseech him to become his master and teacher. He was soon delighted also with the spirit and originality of his royal pupil. But none the less were there nobler motives which bound Voltaire to Frederick,—the urgent desire to realize in Prussia his endeavors for the liberation of mankind from the bonds of the Middle Ages and its traditions. “My self-love you have flattered,” writes Voltaire as early as August, 1736; “but the love of humanity which I bear in my heart, and which I am bold to say constitutes my character, has prepared for me a far purer joy since I see that there is in the world a princely philosopher, who will make men happy. Believe me, there never have lived truly good kings, who did not begin, like yourself, to teach themselves to know men, to love truth, and to abhor persecution and superstition.” On the whole, in this exchange of letters Voltaire shows the best side of his chameleon nature. The abundance of wit, spirit, acuteness, and literary merit of which both great correspondents have made proof in this correspondence, has stamped it forever as one of the most eminent of literary productions.

Amid the sufferings of many kinds of the young prince, study and literary labor were his never failing consolation. “The report for the last four months,” he writes in December, 1737, “would not be very interesting. You would find everywhere a man with his nose thrust among books, who then lays aside the book to seize the pen.” A choice, if not comprehensive library, in the most beautiful apartment of the castle, and commanding the finest prospect, secured to the prince his most cherished occupation.

In the leisure of Rheinsberg, by the study of philosophy, by his correspondence with Voltaire, and by perusal of the ancients (in French translations), Frederick had in fact laid the foundation of his opinions respecting life and the world, opinions to which he ever after remained true. Free from idealist abstraction, he filled his mind with a realism sound and full of strength. Greatness, truth, and self-restraint constituted the law of his spirit in act and thought, clearness and firmness its distinguishing peculiarities. Out of these grew Frederick’s most important production of the Rheinsberg period, the “Anti-Machiavelli.” As an argument this work possesses little value. But the real significance of this youthful production lies elsewhere. It is not so much a polemic against Machiavelli, as against an erroneous view of Machiavellism, as against the opinion current at that epoch, that regarded the state as the per-

sonal property of the prince, and that considered every means rightful which serves the vanity, the ambition, the covetousness, or the luxury of the prince. In opposition to such a despot, he commends a constitutionally limited monarchy, and even a republic. Monarchy for him was created only by men's need of protection, and of a balance between conflicting private and state interests. The prince ought to be the 'first servant' (*premier domestique*) of the state, the defender, the just judge, the sagacious helper of his subjects. His programme was that of enlightened absolutism, whose founder and exemplar Frederick became, in contrast to the absolutism of the seventeenth century.

In general, Frederick was far from giving himself up wholly to the pleasing literary-epicurean life of Rheinsberg. He took the greatest interest in political affairs. In view of his father's jealousy with regard to his power as ruler, he did not indeed venture to allow anything of these pursuits to be perceived. Communications from the ministers concerning weighty political transactions he often returned without any remarks. But he was much better informed than he appeared to be. Grumbkow extended his secret correspondence with the crown-prince to include also the foreign affairs of the state. Frederick was deeply concerned on account of the weak and unskilful course pursued by his father. He gave counsels that showed great political insight, and at the same time bold decision, but which were little observed. He justly discerned the situation, when, in November, 1737, he remarked: "It appears that Heaven has designated the king to make all preparations demanded by wisdom and circumspection before one enters upon a war. Who knows if Providence has not reserved me for this,—to make a glorious use of these preparations, to apply them to the execution of the plans for which the foresight of the king has destined them?" Could a historian to-day, at the end of 150 years, more exactly and acutely characterize those two governments than was done by Frederick then with a prophetic spirit in his twenty-fifth year? Finally he decided to take an active part in European polities, but only as a writer, and was desirous of having anonymously printed in England "Considerations on the Present Condition of the European Political System." These were aimed at the pretensions of France, and called upon the maritime powers to prepare energetic measures of defence against that country. For France was then sustaining the court of Vienna in its treacherous endeavors, in violation of treaties,

to wrest from Prussia the long promised inheritance of the duchy of Berg. Frederick's partiality for French literature did not in the least lead to a blind preference for the French state and its policy. This fugitive piece was not printed because in the spring of 1738 Cardinal Fleury drew nearer to Prussia. These negotiations also led to no satisfactory result. The conviction that, in the claims relating to Berg, France as well as Austria would be opposed to Prussia, induced Frederick at a later day to give them up entirely, and to seek compensation for them in Silesia, where the interests of France would not be hostile to those of Prussia.

But it would be a great mistake if one conceived that the pressing desire for activity on the part of Frederick led him to wish for the death of his sick father. On the contrary, there finally, during the last years of the king's life, sprang up an inward and frank relationship between them. Frederick William recognized more plainly every day the great qualities of his son, and, bowed down by illness, surrendered much of his former stubbornness. Frederick, on the other hand, when upon his journeys convinced himself of the benefits which the sovereign, misunderstood in very many ways, had so abundantly conferred upon his country. In a letter to Voltaire of July 27, 1739, he describes in enthusiastic language the services of his father to East Prussia. He became fully possessed with that favorable and high consideration for Frederick William which inspired the beautiful description of that king given in his "Brandenburg History," and led him to dispose of his own contention with his father in these words: "For the sake of the virtues of such a father one must look with forbearance upon the errors of his children."

After a long, painful illness Frederick William died on May 31, 1740. In his last days he had his oldest son constantly near him. "My God, I die content," he cried out. "since I have so worthy a son and successor!" Thus the relation between the father and his heir ended in reconciliation and peace.

Although deeply afflicted by the decease of his father, Frederick immediately assumed the royal dignity. He had decided on his policy too long beforehand to show even an hour's delay or irresolution. A new spirit at once awoke in court and government. When Prince Leopold of Dessau addressed him, while yet in tears over the death of his father, with the unseemly request that the same authority be conceded to him which the deceased had granted

him, Frederick replied with some sharpness that he would continue to him and his sons their several dignities, but of authority there was nothing to say. To the Rheinsberg friends who hopefully pressed about him he said: "Those pastimes are ended," and put them in good but modest positions according to their qualifications. The amiable companion had made way for the prince. How earnest and excellent was his discourse to the generals! The troops were not only to be fine in bearing, but also good and serviceable; and the commanders were themselves to remove the causes for complaints respecting severity, greed, and arrogance which lay against some of them. Still finer is the programme which he developed for his ministers, and to which during his rule of almost fifty years he always faithfully adhered. Hitherto a real distinction had been made between the interests of the king and of the country, and the former were preferred. "But I think that the interest of the country and my own are one, and that I can have no interest which at the same time would not be that of the country. Should the two not coincide, the country's advantage shall have the preference." Thus the prevalent absolutism was to be sacrificed to the interest of the state.

And the utterances of Frederick (Fig. 33) were not mere words: they were turned into acts. The margrave of Schwedt was not protected by his relationship to the royal family nor was Leopold of Dessau saved by his rank and his former services from strong censure on account of their ill treatment of officers and soldiers. The worst acts of violence in the enlistment of soldiers were abolished.

In the civil administration Frederick likewise immediately removed some of the most oppressive hardships, and especially protected the interest of the subjects as against the financial administration. On the whole and in general the system of government had, indeed, to remain as it was.

But where the state suffered no loss, mildness and enlightened action was to take the place of the narrow severity with which hitherto the lower orders especially had been treated. Already, on the third day of his reign, contrary to the opinion of the great majority of jurists, Frederick abolished torture, and thus gave to the entire continent of Europe a shining example, only very gradually imitated by other states. This one act should suffice to clothe the name of Frederick with imperishable renown. On the same day he effected the removal of all prohibitions of marriage not laid down in the

Bible,—to be sure, less for humane reasons than to promote the establishment of families and the increase of population.



FIG. 33.—Frederick II. of Prussia about 1740. From a copper-plate engraving by Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808); original painting by Antoine Pesne (1684–1757).

As the abolition of torture was directed against judicial narrowness, and the enlargement of the right to marry against restraints

imposed by theologians, Frederick in like manner took ground also against the illiberal religious system of the age. If religious opposition had already given way in the relations of the states to one another, within the individual states there prevailed only far too much intolerance and persecution toward all those who stood outside of the official church. Here, too, the king spoke the saving word: "All religions must be tolerated, for in this matter every one must become happy in his own fashion." It is Frederick who by this golden sentence inaugurated and established a new era. "All religions," he declared officially as early as June 15, 1740, "are equally good if only the people who profess them are honest people; and if Turks and heathen were to come and desire to inhabit the land, we would build mosques and churches for them." And this tolerant prince was, notwithstanding his personal scepticism, no enemy of religion. He always valued and favored capable and conscientious ministers of religion. But the state as such should be the champion of no creed. It may be said that Frederick was the first to realize the modern state, which knows that its kingdom is only of this world, and does not presume to extend itself to the heavenly realm.

The new way of regarding the mission of the state was made manifest likewise in the creation of a Ministry of Commerce and Industry, which was accomplished by Frederick four weeks after ascending the throne by establishing a fifth department in the General Directory. Thereby the promotion of commercial and industrial activity was distinctly recognized as one of the chief functions of the state.

Hitherto the subject had had to obey and keep silence. But Frederick desired to draw the citizens into an intellectual participation in public transactions. He caused the establishment of a French and of a German gazette in Berlin, to which at first he willingly made contributions. In every particular a freer, more elevated and bolder aim expressed itself than had previously prevailed in the Prussian political system.

This was most plainly manifested in the foreign policy. But however much affairs of state taxed the attention of Frederick, he still secured time for the cultivation of friendship and of the Muses. Frederick's small household at Charlottenburg resembled in many ways that at Rheinsberg, although differently composed. He had wholly separated from his consort, after the compulsion of his father's will had ceased. He formed for her a suitable and splendid

court, and he arranged that the 'great world' of Berlin should gather about her as its head. He always showed for her the greatest consideration and honor, but saw her rarely, and only when necessary, as on festival occasions. He preferred to be with men of intellect, of wit, and of thought, like himself. At that time he summoned back to Berlin from exile his instructor, Duhan de Jandun, and held intercourse with the fine and acute Italian thinker Algariotti. With these and other friends, especially Jordan and Kayserlingk, he associated on a footing of equality. But influence in affairs of state, or even personal advantage, these men did not presume to ask. During the entire day—and this was a principal contrast with the Rheinsberg epoch—he was strenuously at work; the evening was devoted to recreation and chiefly to a concert, in which the king often took part with his flute. A simple life, almost that of a citizen. The courtiers called him the abbot; themselves brethren of the monastery.

What occupied Frederick most urgently and deeply was doubtless foreign relations. Much was to be improved there. Everywhere had Frederick William, through his confidence in men, and his timidity at the moment of decision, suffered defeat. All rulers, even the poorest imperial cities, showed contempt for a state which always threatened and never acted. "All good patriots," said Frederick himself in the "History of My Time," "mourned because the Powers considered the late king so little, and over the mortifications which the Prussian name was compelled to experience in the world." The emperor especially, for whom Frederick William had so often sacrificed himself, had rewarded him with the basest ingratitude. The father had exclaimed that Austria had broken his heart; the son was determined from the first to procure for Prussia a different position, and from being the 'king of frontiers,' to become the master of a compact power, and above all to take revenge on the House of Austria. But he did not realize the potential resources of a great monarchy that had existed for centuries, as had the Austrian, or the obstinacy with which the European state system must resist the rise of a new power. At first he was all confidence and full of an enterprising spirit. One of his first measures was to increase the army by 10,000 men. The prince-bishop of Liège, who had ventured to take possession for himself of the lordship of Herstall, which belonged to Prussia, was compelled, by the advance of Prussian grenadiers, to pay 200,000 thalers to the king. But that was

an occasion of subordinate importance. Frederick's main purpose was, on the approaching death of the Emperor Charles VI., to profit by the insecure position of Austria, and take possession of the province of Silesia.

In this matter Frederick was not so devoid of all just pretensions as has been maintained. It is unquestionable that the blameworthy conduct of Austria with reference to the circle of Schwiebus (Vol. XIII., pp. 269, 335) though invalid in international law, had revived once more the Prussian claims upon the Silesian duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf. Frederick II. would have been fully authorized to bring forward this demand on a proper occasion. But we cannot deny that this did not content him. He desired, as he himself said to his ministers, "to avail himself of the favorable situation of his affairs in order to gain possession of *all* Silesia,"—while the public heard only of the four duchies. Frederick hoped and wished that Austria would reject his just demands, and thereby give him occasion to go beyond them. A better foundation for the war with Austria existed, at all events, in the jealousy and ill-will manifested by Austria for a century against Brandenburg. Had not his father expressly committed to him the work of vengeance? In the Herstall affair, although humiliated by the unfortunate result of his Turkish war, and feeling himself on the brink of the grave, Charles VI. had displayed the most revolting partiality against Prussia. Can one, then, blame a young, ambitious prince, entirely possessed by the conviction of the high mission of his state, if he made preparations to avail himself of his advantage against this hostile empire? Besides, Saxony had to be prevented from using her hereditary claims on a part of the Austrian monarchy to obtain a piece of Silesia, and thereby to establish a connection with her elector's Polish kingdom. At the same time—and upon this he lays the greatest emphasis in the "History of My Time"—Frederick desired to make the Prussian name again honored and feared in the world. Great moral scruples in reference to polities he did not cherish. "I give you a problem to solve," he wrote to von Podewils, his minister of state, "if one is uppermost, should he profit by it or not? I am ready with my troops and everything. If I do not avail myself of them, I hold in my hands a good which I know not how to use; but if I profit by it, my skill will be praised."

The decisive event did not keep him waiting long. On October 20, 1740, Charles VI. died, the last male Hapsburg. It was antici-

pated that the paper wall of his Pragmatic Sanction would not protect his heritage from claims on different sides. The Austrian finances were disturbed by the disastrous Turkish war, and the army now amounted to scarcely 30,000 men; its inferiority to the Prussian troops Frederick had learned long ago in the campaign on the Rhine.

The king immediately decided to interfere. "All is provided for, all is in readiness," he writes to Algarotti; "consequently it only remains to put in execution projects which I have been revolving for a long time."

A great war was thus begun, longer and far more terrible than the bold prince foreboded.



PLATE XIV.



Maria Theresa.

From a copper-plate engraving by J. E. Ridinger (1698-1767).

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV., page 283.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

THE general situation of Europe was extraordinarily favorable to the great enterprise of Frederick II.

Charles VI., during the last decade of his reign, had built his entire political system upon the assistance of two powers, — Russia and England. Both threatened now, at the critical moment, to fail endangered Austria. The death of the Empress Anna, and the fall of Biron, ruined for a time the Austrian party at the court of St. Petersburg. Anton Ulrich of Brunswick, father of the reigning Czar Ivan, was Frederick's brother-in-law; and Field-Marshal Münich, the well-nigh all-powerful minister, was likewise entirely favorable to Prussia. But England, through the war with Spain, had in prospect a struggle in which sooner or later France also must participate, and this time in favor of Spain; for, from the very beginning of Fleury's administration, the relations between Paris and Madrid had again become close. Moreover, the commencement of hostilities had proved not at all advantageous to England. The squadron despatched by Walpole against Peru was so badly fitted out, and sent at so unfavorable a season, that no memorable results followed, notwithstanding the high qualities of its commander, Anson. A second fleet, under Vernon, attacked Cartagena, the strongest fortress in Spanish America; but Vernon was ignominiously repulsed, and lost the greater part of his fine army by the fire of the enemy and by disease.

Such events rendered it hardly probable that the young princess who had just ascended the throne of Austria would obtain valuable support from England.

Maria Theresa (PLATE XIV.), the present 'Queen of Bohemia and Hungary,' was a tall, well-formed woman, of noble and distinguished bearing, which, however, especially in her youth, did not exclude a sparkling vivacity. Her face was gracefully rounded, with regular features, fresh coloring, clear gray eyes, a lofty, open brow, a finely chiselled mouth; her beauty was enriched by soft

blond hair. A true-hearted and just nature, and readiness of perception, marked her character, and lent her an amiability that was attractive even in advanced age. She loved joyous feasts and stately celebrations, rich toilets, the play and the theatre, a gorgeous and pompous household. She was filled with a deep inward religious spirit (unfortunately united with intolerance), which yet relinquished none of the rights of the worldly ruler; and this unconditional trust in God increased her natural courage and her immovable steadfastness with respect to that which she had recognized to be good and righteous. Her feelings were lively; love and hate were developed with equal strength. While she adhered firmly in all circumstances to the prerogatives pertaining to her high position, she yet practised the duties belonging to it with the most rigorous conscientiousness. All state papers she studied thoroughly with earnest attention, and wrote down her conclusions on each particular separately, in clear and simple language, but in a very imperfect style. She found time for everything, for the greatest as well as for the least. Her clear understanding and her fidelity to duty enabled this wholly inexperienced princess to understand quickly the details of business and to master them. But higher endowment could not be ascribed to this noble, sympathetic woman. For all that transcends the material and immediately useful, she had no perception. Science and art she regarded as useless toys. She boasted that she never opened a book. Philosophy and the enlightenment of the century were to her simply an abomination.

When just entering upon her reign (Figs. 34, 35, and PLATE XV.), being now twenty-three years of age, she was almost the only one who believed in the continuance of the monarchy. In the public treasury there were only 87,000 florins. The people, oppressed by taxes and irritated by accumulated disasters, were discontented and hard to please. At the street-corners of the capital appeared seditious placards, as, "Hurrah! the emperor is dead. We shall now have a big loaf of bread. We want the Bavarian, not the Lorrainer." The ministers themselves thought that now everything must fall asunder. In truth, to the Pragmatic Sanction, for which Austria had made such sacrifices, nobody paid any attention.

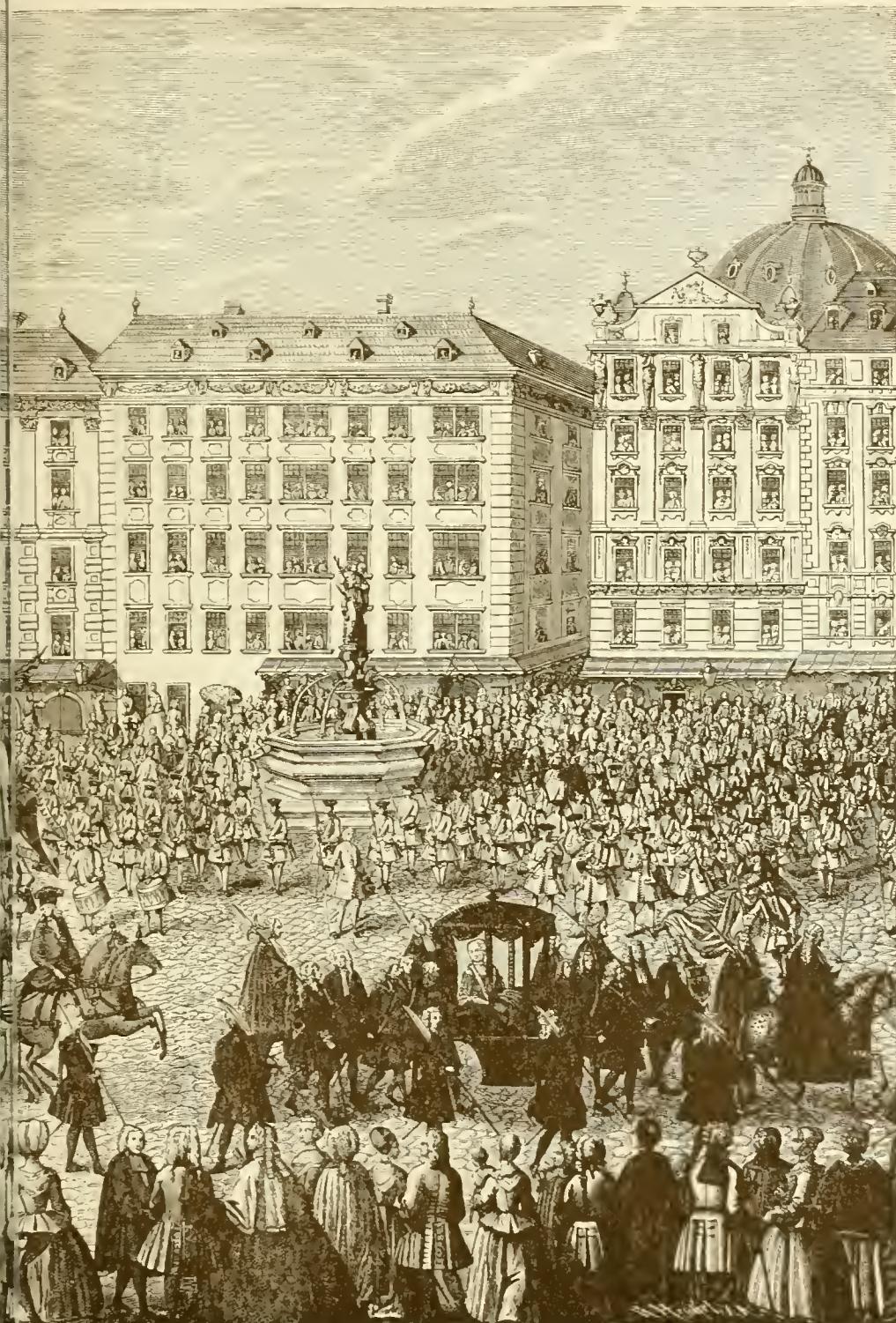
Scarcely had Charles VI. closed his eyes, when the Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria came forward at once with his claims. He relied upon a testament of the Emperor Ferdinand I., whose daughter Anne had married Albert V., Duke of Bavaria,— but his





Scene from the Coronation Festivities of the Empress 1740.  
Palace to St. Stephen's.

To the left the royal carriage; to the right Maria Theresa in the sedan chair; before this the Emperor. At the same time there is a general view of the "Graben," or as it was then also called, the Great Kriegsstrasse.



Maria Theresa: group taken from the Procession from the Queen's Cathedral.

ster of the Horse, the Shield-Bearer, etc.; behind with the staff is the captain of the body-guard. Market, with the dome of St. Peter's in the background. Copied from the contemporary work





FIG. 34.—A scene from the coronation of the Empress Maria Theresa. The bearing of the archducal crown to the ceremony of the coronation oath. (Copied from Kriegl's contemporary work representing the coronation.)

claim was shown to be utterly untenable from the testament itself. The succession was assigned to the descendants of Anne after the extinction not of 'male' heirs but of 'legitimate heirs' in the direct line. Now, however, Bavaria rested her claims upon the matrimonial compact of Anne and Albert, in which Anne certainly had reserved the inheritance for herself in the event of the failure of the Austrian male line,—a reservation resting on no higher authority than her own. Spain, too, considered the pledge in favor of the Pragmatic Sanction given in the Vienna compact (p. 174) to be invalid, inasmuch as Austria had not fulfilled the stipulations as to marriage covenanted in that agreement; and now the court of Madrid, on the ground of settlements made in the year 1617 (cf. Vol. XII., pp. 158 ff.) raised a claim to Bohemia and Hungary. Besides, Saxony, although it had expressly renounced, as payment for the throne of Poland, all claims on Austria, now urgently demanded one or the other of her provinces.

Maria Theresa did not allow herself to be disturbed by all this. In her view her right to her father's dominions was incontestable, and she was not minded to give up one whit. Spain had surely enough to do in the war with England, and in that war France was preparing to take part. Bavaria, having sunken low through the wastefulness of its last sovereign, and through bigoted, priestly rule, was destitute of money and soldiers. Without hesitation the queen declared her consort from Lorraine co-regent, and even made arrangements to obtain for him the imperial crown. Fleury attempted at most only timid objections; at Vienna there was felt fresh confidence in his absolute love of peace.

Then Frederick of Prussia came forward. His purpose, as we know, was, first, to take possession of Silesia, and thereafter to negotiate in order to keep it all, or at least the greater part. To his minister, von Podewils, and to Field-Marshal von Schwerin (Fig. 36), with whom he took counsel with regard to this matter, it seemed altogether too daring and even perilous for the existence of a small state like Prussia. They were not wrong, as was shown by the Second Silesian and the Seven Years' wars. But Frederick disregarded these considerations with the daring confidence of youth and with the legitimate boldness of genius. He acted toward his ministers in the full consciousness of his superior position and spirit. "If the ministers speak of negotiations, they are the competent people; but when they speak of war they are like an Iroquois who

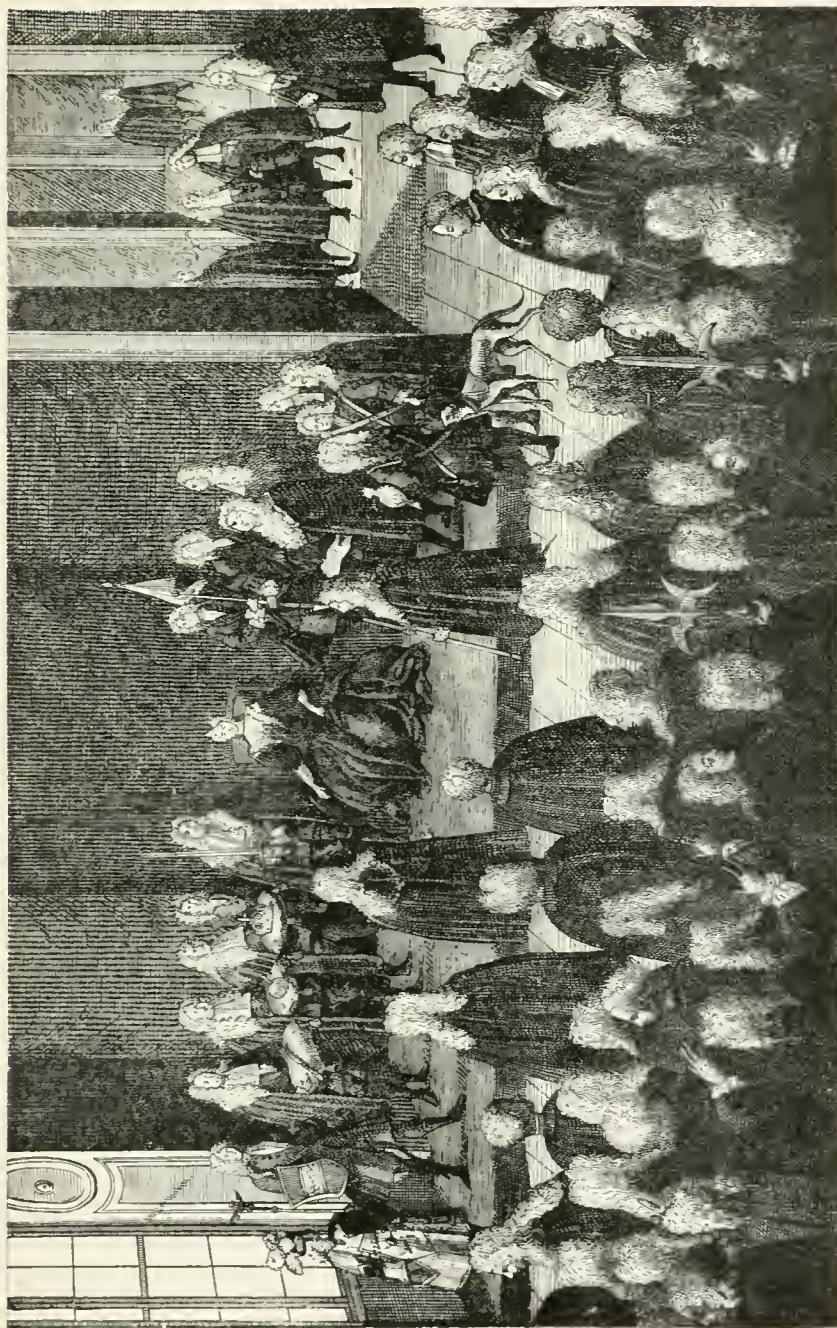


FIG. 35. — A scene from the coronation of the Empress Maria Theresa. The taking of the oath in the Knights' Chamber.  
(Copied from Kriegel's contemporary work representing the coronation.)

discourses on astronomy." He remained firm in his resolution. Besides, he was not thoughtlessly headstrong, but acted after thorough deliberation, as he himself explained. Should England take the side of Austria, France would then be naturally obliged to join Prussia, of which Fleury gave him the best expectation if he only renounced the Jülich-Berg inheritance. After the first victory Bavaria and Saxony would enforce their claims to Austrian territory. So he made his decision.

But he desired to join artifice with this determination; being completely unprepared, the enemy were to be surprised. Moral

considerations Frederick did not know at all in politics: and who at that time had regard to them? He committed only one wrong: he spoke in youthful presumption freely and directly that which others loved to conceal in fine phrases. "Make the Berliners believe," he ordered Podewils, "that I have received intelligence that the Count Palatine — who is holding possession of Jülich-Berg — is helpless, and fears are entertained for his life." Accordingly, he directed a pretended order to the garrison of Berlin, to begin to march toward Halberstadt, that is,



FIG. 36.—Field-Marshal Schwerin. (From a copper-plate engraving by Seidel.)

to the west. In truth, the regiments, as soon as they were prepared for war, were all put in motion for the south, for Silesia.

Meanwhile Frederick set his diplomacy to work. Especially in Vienna he sought to point out the pernicious purposes of Saxony and France, in order thus to make clear the necessity for Austria to purchase Prussian friendship, even at a sacrifice. But his real objects were gradually discerned. They met with general disfavor at first. The enterprise was designated as a robber's assault, whose consequences would fall back upon the originator, and bring about the ruin of Prussia. The king's own ministers and generals likewise condemned



à Schweinitz a. 16.

Monsieur Podewil. J'ai passé les Sables  
en foyes D'ployées et Tambour battant; Mes  
Troupes sont pleines de bonne Volonté  
Les officiers d'Ambition, et M. le Générau  
ajouté de gloire, tout au felon nos combats  
et d'ici l'au de profumerie tout le bien possible  
De cette entreprise ..... au j' a vu venir  
ou j' a Voulu avoir l'honneur de Cette entregrippé  
mon Coeur me prêche tout le bien du monde  
enfin en Ciel en n'fum dont la cause nous est  
meurie me prône du bonheur et de la paix  
et je ne ..... j' a pas  
à verbi sans m' être rendu l'igne du Sang dont je  
Suis issus et des braves Soldats que j' a l'honneur  
de Commandér. adieu a Vouz recommande à la  
gande d. Dieu *Friedrich*

PLATE XVI. LETTER OF FREDERICK THE GREAT TO THE  
MINISTER OF STATE VON PODEWILS AT BERLIN:  
DATED SCHWEINITZ, DECEMBER 16, 1740.

it: so, too, the public in Prussia, particularly in Berlin. Censure was levelled at this new Charles XII., whose blind foolhardiness was about to effect the ruin of the land; his soldiers would desert, his father's treasure would soon be exhausted. Fleury styled him a braggart. Louis XV. described him as a fool. The Prince of Dessau went so far as to make direct representations to the king. Frederick felt little concern about it all. To 'old Dessau' he replied by a sharp lecture upon military disobedience. He was full of courage and confidence, full of trust in his star and his talents. He desired to manage the affair altogether alone, "so that the world need not believe that the king of Prussia marched to the field with his master of ceremonies."

On December 13 Frederick joined his army, which, 22,000 strong, three days later crossed the Silesian frontier. "I have crossed the Rubicon," he wrote (PLATE XVI.<sup>1</sup>), "with waving banners and beating drums. All goes according to our wishes." He first sent Count Gotter to Vienna for the purpose of offering, as the price of ceding Silesia, an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria. A part of the Viennese ministers urgently advised purchasing the valuable support of Prussia by a sacrifice which could be considered of very little importance. But the acceptance of the Prussian demand, under the circumstances in which it was brought forward, would have been disgraceful to the queen, and equivalent to the loss of Austria's position as a great power. Thus the government of Vienna rejected the proposal, and in a vehement manifesto communicated it to all Europe. Frederick replied by a polemic paper that laid bare to the world the faithless proceedings of the imperial court in the Jülich affair and on the occasion of the Schwiebus reversal.

<sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVI.

Letter of Frederick the Great to the Minister of State von Podewils at Berlin: dated Schweinitz, December 16, 1740.

TRANSCRIPTION.

à Schweinitz, 16. décembre 1740.

Mon cher Podewils. J'ai passé le Rubicon enseignes déployés et tambour battant; mes troupes sont pleines de bonne volonté, les officiers d'ambition, et nos généraux affamés de gloire, tout ira selon nos souhaits, et j'ai lieu de présumer tout le bien possible de cette entreprise. . . . Ou je veux périr ou je veux avoir honneur de cette entreprise, mon coeur me présage tout le bien du monde: enfin un certain instinct, dont la cause nous est inconnue, me prédit du bonheur et de la fortune, et je ne paraîtrai pas à Berlin sans m'être rendu digne du sang dont je suis issu, et des braves soldats que j'ai l'honneur de commander. Adieu, je vous recommande à la garde de Dieu.

FEDERIC.

Thus war was declared between Austria, the great power, and the small Prussian state.

The lively self-confidence of Frederick was at first fully justified by circumstances. The Prussian army, in fact, encountered little opposition. Silesia was held by only 7000 Austrians; only three fortresses, Glogau, Brieg, and Neisse, were in a condition of defence. The Protestants, who in Lower Silesia constituted the majority of the population, were happy to be relieved from the petty religious oppression of the imperial officials, and rendered the Prussians all assistance. The inhabitants of Breslau (PLATE XVII.) compelled the magistrate to submit to the king of Prussia, the comprehensive political and military immunities of the city being preserved. Catholics were tranquillized by the assurance of complete religious liberty. The rigorous discipline of the Prussian soldiers impressed them agreeably in contrast with the lawless practices of the Croats and Hungarians in the imperial army. By the end of January, 1741, all Silesia was conquered, with the exception of the three fortresses besieged by the Prussians. The difficult thing, however, was not to conquer, but to keep.

This easy acquisition did not at first produce a great impression in Europe. Cardinal Fleury continued to show himself favorable to Prussia, but did not venture to make positive declarations. On the other hand, England and the electorate of Saxony made alliances with Austria. Great Britain was fully engaged by her war with Spain; and Saxony, thanks to the extravagance of her court, was in no state of preparation. The army of observation, 30,000 strong, which Frederick posted on the Saxon frontier, under the command of 'old Dessau,' was more than sufficient to hold that land in check. The decisive stroke must fall in Silesia itself, where now at last an Austrian army made its appearance.

Up to March, 1741, the government at Vienna had collected with the greatest difficulty a corps of 25,000 men, which was placed under the command of Field-Marshal Count Neipperg. At Vienna all were full of confidence: the tried imperial squadrons would easily sweep the Prussian 'parade soldiers' out of Silesia. At first all was promising for the Austrians. True, Neipperg was too late to save Glogau, which the Prince of Dessau took by storm. But he relieved Neisse, and suddenly appeared in the midst of Frederick's army, the Prussian quarters having been pitched decidedly too far apart. But now Neipperg delayed so long that

Ad. 1741.

No. VI.

Sonnabend,

den 14. Januarii



## Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen.

Berlin, vom 14. Januar.

Schreiben eines Preussischen Offiziers

Vom Breslau, den 5ten Jan. 1741.



ie seynd ungehalten, das ich noch nicht an Sie geschrieben; da es mir aber unmöglich gewesen, so werden Sie es nicht übel auslegen, um so viel mehr, da ich Ihnen hierdurch von allen was bis jetzt von uns ist berichtet worden, Nachricht gebe.

Den 11 Decembre reisete der König von Berlin ab, und nahm sein Nachtlager in Frankfurth

Den 14ten speiseten höchst Dieselben Mittags zu Grossen, wo Sie, i Escadron von den Gened'armes,

z der Husaren, und das Schalenburg'sche Granadier-Regiment zu Pferde, durch marschirten sahen. Se Königl. Majestät fanden daselbst den Gen. Fels. Mari- schall Graffen von Schwerin, die Krieges und Provi- oni Commissarios, die Becken u. c. Auch langte die Artillerie demselben Tag in der Grossenschen Vorstadt an.

Den 15ten blieb der König noch da, um denen zu lege marschirenden Regimentern Zeit zu lassen, her anzurücken und die Schlacht-Ordnung zu formiren; auch unterschiedene Marsch-Routen für die Regimenter anzordnen, welchen sie, um sich, in einem so engen Lande, als das zwischen der Ober und Böber ist, nicht hinderlich zu fallen, folgen sollten. Die hohe Generalität und Befehlshaber der Regimenter halten sich auch dahn versügt, um Sr. Königl. Majestät Be- fehle einzuhohlen, welche auss genaueste verschrieben, die Krieges Zucht zu beobachten, und die Art und Weise, wie man den schlesischen Einwohnern begegnen sollte.

Den

PLATE XVII.—A FACSIMILE OF THE "BERLINISCHE NACHRICHTEN VON STAATS- UND GELEHRTEN SACHEN" FOR JANUARY 14, 1741, CONTAINING A GERMAN TRANSLATION OF FREDERICK THE GREAT'S "LETTRE D'UN OFFICIER PRUSSIEN." DATED BRESLAU, JANUARY 5, 1741.

History of All Nations, Vol. XIV., page 240.

Den 15ten brachen alle Regimenter auf, und die meisten erreichten noch die schlesischen Grenzen, alwo Unsere Patente ausgegeben wurden. so die Ursachen enthielten, die Se. Kdnigl. Majestät bewogen den Besitz von diesem Herzogthum zu nehmen. Der Kdnig nahm sein Quartier in dem Dorfe Schweißnig

Den 17ten kamen wir bis Weichow. Die ersten Regimenter mussten 4 bis 5 Meilen marschiren, um den folgenden Platz zu machen, und sich rechts und links auszubreiten, nachdem sich das Land auch allmählich erweitert. Belieben Sie zu merken, daß diese Meilen unsern pommerschen, die da kein Ende zu nehmen scheinen, nichts nachgeben.

Den 18ten hielten Se. Kdnigl. Majestät sich noch zu Weichau auf; einige Regimenter marschirten, einige machten halte, um sich zusammen in einer Linie und Fronte stellen zu können. Dritter Tag fieng das schlimme Wetter an, und machte bei nahe alle Wege grundlos und unbrauchbar, die ohnedies in diesen Ländern nicht die besten seyn. Von allen Dörfern fanden sich Deputirte des Landes ein, die Marsch-Diensten und die Quartiere vor die Armee zu besorgen. Se. Kdnigl. Majestät aber besahen die Dero Quartier am nächsten liegende Bataillons.

Den 19ten ward der Marsch fortgesetzt. Der Kdnig nahm Sein Quartier zu Weilkan, woselbst Sie sich den 20 und 21sten vertieleten. Der Regen hielt indessen beständig an.

Den 20ten lagen einige Regimenter sille aber 14 Bataillons und 15 Escadrons, traten den allermühsamsten Marsch an, den wohl iemahls auch die älteren und besten Troupen nicht mdgen versucht haben. Denn alle Wege und Straßen waren grundlos und überflömmmt, die Straßen ausgetreten und viele Werken weggetrieben, da halte man nichts als Moräne zu passiren, und war dabei ein beständig anhaltender starker Regen; mit einem Worte, alles was einen Marsch konte beschwerlich und unerträglich machen, war da besammen, daß er auch auf 10 Stunden währete. Indessen mnf man es Unserer Infanterie zum Glücke nachsagen, daß sie alle dem ungeachtet 3 bis 4 der stärksten Meilen zurück legte im Wasser u Sumpfe bis an die Knie, wo nicht bis ans Degengehende, ohne daß ein Soldat sein Glied und Ordnung verlassen, noch weniger ein verdrießliches Gesicht gemacht hätte. Nein, im Gegeuwel sie waren lustig und aufgeruht. Einer sprach dem andern Muß zu, und eiserten recht un-

tereinander, wer am besten marschiren wörde: auch nicht ein einiger blieb zurück. Alles Uebel so geschahre, war, daß ein Weib eines Soldaten, vom Bredauischen Regimenter von dem Stroh ergriffen ward und erfaußen mafte; dem Feld Prediger, von eben diesem Regimenter, wäre es bey nahe nicht besser ergangen.

Den 21sten war billig ein Rast-Tag, damit der Soldat wieder konte trocken werden. Der Kdnig besah indessen die in der Nähe liegenden Quartiere, und ließ Geld unter die Soldaten, so den Tag vorher marschirei hattet, austheilen.

Den 22ten erreichten wir Herndorff 1 Meile von Glogau, woselbst der Kdnig einen Major von der Glögauischen Garnison sandt, mit einem Brief an Hodst Dieselben, von dem Commandanten dem General Lieutenant Graffen von Wallis. Die Besatzung besteht in 2 Bataillons und 2 Compagnien Invaliden. Dieser Ort ist ziemlich ordentlich befestiget, mit einem mit Steinen eingefassten Graben, und hat einen guten bedeckten Weg, ist aber der Sage nach nicht auf. Monate verprobanirt, und dieserhalb haben Se. Kdnigl. Majestät vor gut befunden, solchen thet zu bloquiren als zu belagern. Mich dächte, daß uns nicht viel darum zu thun, ob wir es 6 Wochen eher oder später da kommen.

Den 23ten reconnoiserten Se. Kdnigl. Majestät die Stadt, und theilten die Quartire ein, für die Regimenter vom linken Flügel, die so lange zur bloquade bestimmt waren, bis der Herzog von Holstein mit dem Corps, mit welchem Er den 18ten aus Berlin marschirte, wörde angerückt seyn. Der General Feld-Morhall, Graf von Schwerin, erhielt Ordre den Marsch mit denen Regimenter des rechten Flügels bey kleinen Tageressen, bis an die Höhen von Kunzklau, Zegnitz und Volkmir fortzuführen, und sich zur Rechten immer an das böhmische Gebirge zu halten.

Den 24ten setzte das Borsdorfsche Regimenter in Schiffen über die Oder, und nahm Posto jenseits des Wassers, in einem der Stadt gleich überliegenden Dorfe, so die Vorstadt abgeben konte. Se. Kdnigl. Majestät posirten das Regimenter in höchst eigener Person, befohlen eine Art von Brustwehr anzulegen, und solche mit ein paar Stücken zu besetzen, um den Fluss überhalb der Stadt bestreichen zu können.

Den 25ten machte der Kdnig einige Veränderung, bey den Wachten der Cavallerie, und ließ solche nicht sich der Stadt nähern, auch zugleich der Zeit 2 Granadier Compagnien,

Compagnien, auf eine Insel übersetzen, um sich noch besser des Flusses zu bedenken, und dem Orte alle Zufahrt abzuschneiden.

Den 27ten besuchten Se. Majestät das de la Motz'sche Regiment.

Den 27ten langten der Herzog von Holstein und der Prinz Leopold von Anhalt, mit dem ebgedachten Corpo, in unsrer Quartieren an; da oean so gleich auf Königl. Befehl, die daben lebende Granadiere sich in Bataillons formirten, und den Marsch nach Breslau antreten mussten: Se. Königl. Majestät übergeben zu gleicher Zeit das Commando der Bloquirung dem Prinzen Leopold.

Den 28ten ließ dieser Prinz die Posten durch die mitgebrachten Wölker ablösen, und die Unrigen begaben sich auf den Marsch nach Breslau. Außer 5 Escadrons vom Bareuthischen Regiment, die bis zur Ankunft des Platen'schen Regiments, bey dem Prinze blieben. Der König geng voraus mit Seinen Gens d'Armes, den e andern Escadrons vom Bareuthischen Regiment und den 20 Granadier Compagnien, vor allen diesen marschierten die 2 Escadrons Husaren. Der König blieb den Tag zu Glogendorf. Binneu den 4 Tagen, da wir zu Herrndorf geroesen, gingen 68 Mann von der Glogamischen Garnison zu uns, über. Wie viel aber seit dem noch desertiret, kan man nicht wissen, doch sagt man, daß der Commandant um einer gnädlichen Desertron vorzubereugen an stet der Soldaten, Unter-Offiziere zur Schildwacht in dem bedeckten Wege aufstellte.

Den 29ten brach man des Morgens früh auf und langte gegen Abend zu Parchwitz und in die nachliegende Dörfer an.

Den 30ten waren wir zu Neumarkt, so daß binnen 3. Tagen unsre Granadiere und die 5. Bareuthischen Escadross, 14 Meilen gut gemessen, zurück gelegt hatten.

Den 31ten nachdem man 3. Meilen noch marschiert, kamen wir 1. Meile von Breslau zu liegen, wobin der König die Obristen Voradowsky und Borch abschickte, die Stadt aufzusodern. Ich weis, daß sie begierig seyn werden, zu erfahren, was uns zu einem solchen starken Marsch bewogen; Ich kan ihnen darauf dienen: Die Generals der Königinn von Böhmen, hatten der Stadt Breslau sehr stark angeleget, Garnison einzunehmen, welches doch wieder ihre Freiheiten läuft. Einige von dem Magistrat waren schon im Begriff dieses einzugehen,

gehen, wenn die Bürgerschafft so starklich nicht wieder-  
sezt hätte. Folglich war es hohe Zeit zu eilen, wolte man die adere Parthe nicht lassen vor or konuincia

Den 31ten Januart 1741. lagen sich die 10 Escadrons von Schulenburg vom rechten Flügel zu uns; Der König ließ gleich unmittelbar vor der Vorstadt die Granadiere und die 16. Escadrons, so bey Ihm waren, in Bataille stellen, auchdem begab Er sich in die Vorstadt selbst, stellte die Truppen auf der Esplanade der Stadt, so daß dieselbe disius des Flusses besiegte war: Man stellte starke Wachen nach der Stadt und den Felde zu, und darauf wurden die Quartiere in der Vorstadt bezogen.

Den 31ten ließen Se. Königl. Majestät 4. Compagnie der Granadiere mit Schiffen übersetzen, und in der Dohru. Kirche und in den austüschen Vorstädten einlogiren. Die beyden Obersten, so der König in die Stadt gesandt hatte, kamen gegen 3. Uhr des Nachmittags wieder, und hinterbrachten Deroßelben, wie die Stadt Breslau bereit wäre, sich zu unterwerffen, doch mit der Bedingung, daß sie ferner bey ihren Privilegien, Privilegativen und Gewohnheiten, geschützt würde. Und nachdem Se. Königl. Majestät genehm gehalten, was besagte Obersten abgeredet, ward die Capitulation, oder vielmehr die Convention von beyden Theilen unterschrieben.

Den 31ten schickte die Stadt Deputierte, aus dem Magistrat und Bürgerschafft, an den König in sein Quartier auf der Vorstadt ab, zur Bezeugung ihrer Unterwerfung: Da denn gleich die Thore gedoffnet, und die Wachen zurückgezogen wurden: Um 10. Uhr rückten 20 Pferde von der Gendarmerie in die Stadt, und nahmen Posto in der gräflichen Schlegenberg'schen Verhauung, woselbst Se. Königl. Majestät Ihre Wohnung nahmen. Um 11. Uhr ritten Ihr Majestät in die Stadt, unter beständigem Zurufe des Volks. Die Bürgerschafft und ihre gewöhnliche Besatzung stand im Gewehr. Demselben Tag langte der Herzog von Holstein mit den Regiments an, die die Bloquirung vor Glogau vorziret hatten, ehe sie von dem Corpo des Prinzen Leopold von Anhalt waren abgelöst worden, und wurden in denen der Stadt zu nächst liegenden Dörfern einlogirret.

Den 31ten musste eine Brigade von der Infanterie, und 2 Escadrons Dragoner auf Königl. Ordre, unter Anführung des General Major von Jez, theils in Schiffen, theils über die Brücken der Stadt, übers des Was-

Wasser sezen. Vermuthlich, wird dieses Detachement sich der kleinen Stadt; nach der Pohlischen Grenze zu, bemächtigen. An eben diesem Tage, brachten unsre Husaren einen Quartiermeister und 2. Dragoner vom Lichtensteinschen Regimente, so von einem unsrer Offizier und 7. Husaren, zu Oels waren ausgehoben worden.

Nun sind wir endlich herren von der Hanptstadt, und außer etwas wenigem von gan; Niederschlesien, indem kein Ort ist, der Widerstand thun könnte, außer Krieg. wortinnen 4. Bataillons zur Besatzung liegen. Ich glaube, wir werden es damit, bis zum guten Wetter entleben lassen, und alsdann wird es eine Arbeit von erlichen Tagen seyn. Der Herr General Feld-Marschall Graf von Schwerin sehet mit dem rechten Flügel seinen Marsch fort bis an die Neisse, welches heute oder Morgen geschehen wird. Der König wird in den biesigen Vorstädten, einige Bataillons zurück lassen, um die aufrührernde Vorstadtshäuser zu bedecken. Wir finden Getreide genug in der Stadt selbst zum Verkauff, zu Unterhaltung 20 tausend Mann, auf 8 Monat: Dem ungeachtet, lassen Se Königl. Majestät eben so viel noch aus Preussen kommen, also daß es uns an Unterhalt bis künftigen Winter nicht fehlen kan: Wann schon die Notwendigkeit erfoderte, die Armee, die wir zum künftigen Feldzuge hier zusammehaben, zu verdoppeln.

Das Volk in diesem Lande scheint recht eine Veränderung der Herrschaft gewünscht zu haben. Der Landmann freut sich über die gute Kriegszucht unsrer Soldaten, und daß man ihm so gut begegnet: Und der Adel weist sich über das gnädige und freundliche Bezeugen des Königs nicht genug zu verwundern.

Gewiß sie haben auch Ursach dazu, das Land wird sich besser als vorher befinden, denn es konnte die Aufslagen, wodurch es so gar sehr mitgenommen ward, nicht länger ertragen.

Unsre Soldaten befinden sich in denen besten Umslätzen von der Welt. Raum daß ein Regiment 15 bis 20. Kräne hat: Ja solten sie wohl glauben, daß seit der Zeit wie unsre Freien verlassen, wie nur 12. Desseiters gehabt, davon uns doch 5. durch die Bauern, wieder zugebracht worden: 8 Mann sind nur gestorben, so daß unser gänzlicher Verlust bis anjetzt aus 15 Soldaten besteht. Die Pferde halten sich vollkommen gut, und besser als ichs geglaubt: Den Eifer und die Wil-

fähigkeit der Soldaten kann ich ihnen nicht genug beschreiben.

Alles was ihnen mißfällt ist, daß sie keinen Feind zum schlagen antreffen. Auch tragen Se. Königl. Maj. eine solche große Sorgfalt für sie, daß dieselbe außer ihrem ordentlichen Sold, den Winter durch, noch Brod und Fleisch bekommen werden. Morgen sollen wir von hier aufbrechen, wahrscheinlich um uns der Stadt Olau zu bemächtigen, wo ein besetztes Schloß mit 3. oder 400 Mann Besatzung, unter dem Commando des Obersten Formantini, seyn soll: Nach diesem dürfte die Blockirung der Stadt Krieg vorgenommen werden. Und so dann werden wir uns wohl in Ulsterm rechten Hügel an den Ufern des Neiss Flusses, wieder wenden.

Diesen Abend wird der König denen Dames dieser Stadt einen großen Ball geben.

Versailles, vom 30 December.

Vorige Woche hatte der Prinz von Canisius ausserordentlicher Gesandter vom russischen Hofe, bey dem König Audienz, und machte die neue Regierung bekannt. Der König hat nunrech die Leute um die verstorbenen Kaiserin von Russland abgelegt. Man weiß aber noch nicht, wenn man um den verstorbenen Kaiser zu trauern anfangen wird, indem man den Brief, welchen die Erbherzogin deswegen an den König geschrieben, noch nicht hat annehmen können, weil Sie Sich in demselben den Titel einer Herzogin von Burgund bezeigete, wodurch sie der König nicht erkennen will. Man versichert auch, daß man die Ritter vom goldenen Bliesse, welche der Herzog von Lohringen Ihr Gemal als Großmeister dieses Ordens gemacht, nicht darauf werde gelten lassen. Demungeachtet hat der Cardinal von Fleury den wienerschen und den holländischen Gesandten versichert, daß Se Majestät in allem die pragmatische Sanction würden bey ihrer Wirkung zu erhalten suchen.

Constantinopel, vom 28 November.

Die Pest nimmt nun allmälig hier ab. Wenigstens sterben doch täglich nicht mehr als 60 bis 70. Personen. Diejenigen die sich in dem Gefolge des Gräfen von Uhlefeldt an den ansteckenden Krankheiten übel gefunden haben, sind bis auf ihrer wenige wieder gesund worden. Die Minister der Pforte und die fremden Gesandten bewirken einander sehr öfters. Der Graf von Venetval hat diesen Gebrauch am ersten unter den Türken eingeführt.

Frederick successfully brought together his scattered corps, and at Mollwitz (Fig. 37)<sup>1</sup> on April 10, 1741, was in condition to surprise the enemy. The Prussian cavalry were, however, repulsed on their first onset by the Austrian; the king was hurried along from the field of battle by his fleeing gendarmes. But all attacks of the brave Austrian horsemen were foiled by the immovable firmness of the Prussian infantry and the fearful fire which they delivered; and when led by Field-Marshal Schwerin they fell upon the enemy's infantry, the latter sought refuge in a hasty flight. It is true that the Prussian loss was very great. With the royal candor that distinguished Frederick, he acknowledges, in his "History of My Time," that he had rivalled Neipperg in making mistakes; "what specially saved the Prussians was their valor and their discipline."

The battle in itself had little significance. The loss of the Austrians was scarcely greater than that of the Prussians. But the consequences were weighty. The first was the capitulation of Brieg, so that only Neisse remained in possession of the Austrians. The opinion of the public respecting Frederick's undertaking, and the importance of Prussia, had suddenly and completely turned about. Mollwitz proved that the military system of Frederick William I. not only made the Prussian infantry good soldiers on parade, but had also formed active and intrepid troops. Frederick's campaign had been condemned as a piece of rashness; now it was praised as heroic, as highly significant with regard to the future. All the enemies of the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine felt encouraged to follow in the footsteps of the Prussian king, and to treat the territories of Austria as booty without an owner; a result which Frederick could hardly have desired.

Bavaria at once decided to give effect to her claims by force of arms.

#### I EXPLANATION OF FIG. 37.

Facsimile of Frederick II.'s plan of the battle of Mollwitz. — Transcription and Translation:—

*a.* erste ataque der feindlichen Cavalerie in unsern anmarsch ('first attack of the enemy's cavalry on our advance').

*b.* ataque auf unsren linken ['rechten' corrected] flügel ('attack on our left [corrected from "right"] wing').

*c.* ataque der Grenadiers und der Sämtlichen Infanterien ('attack of the grenadiers and the entire infantry forces').

*D.* flucht unsnerne Cavalerie ('flight of our cavalry').

*e.* battaillons in der flanque ('battalions on the flank').

*F.* flucht der feindes ('flight of the enemy').

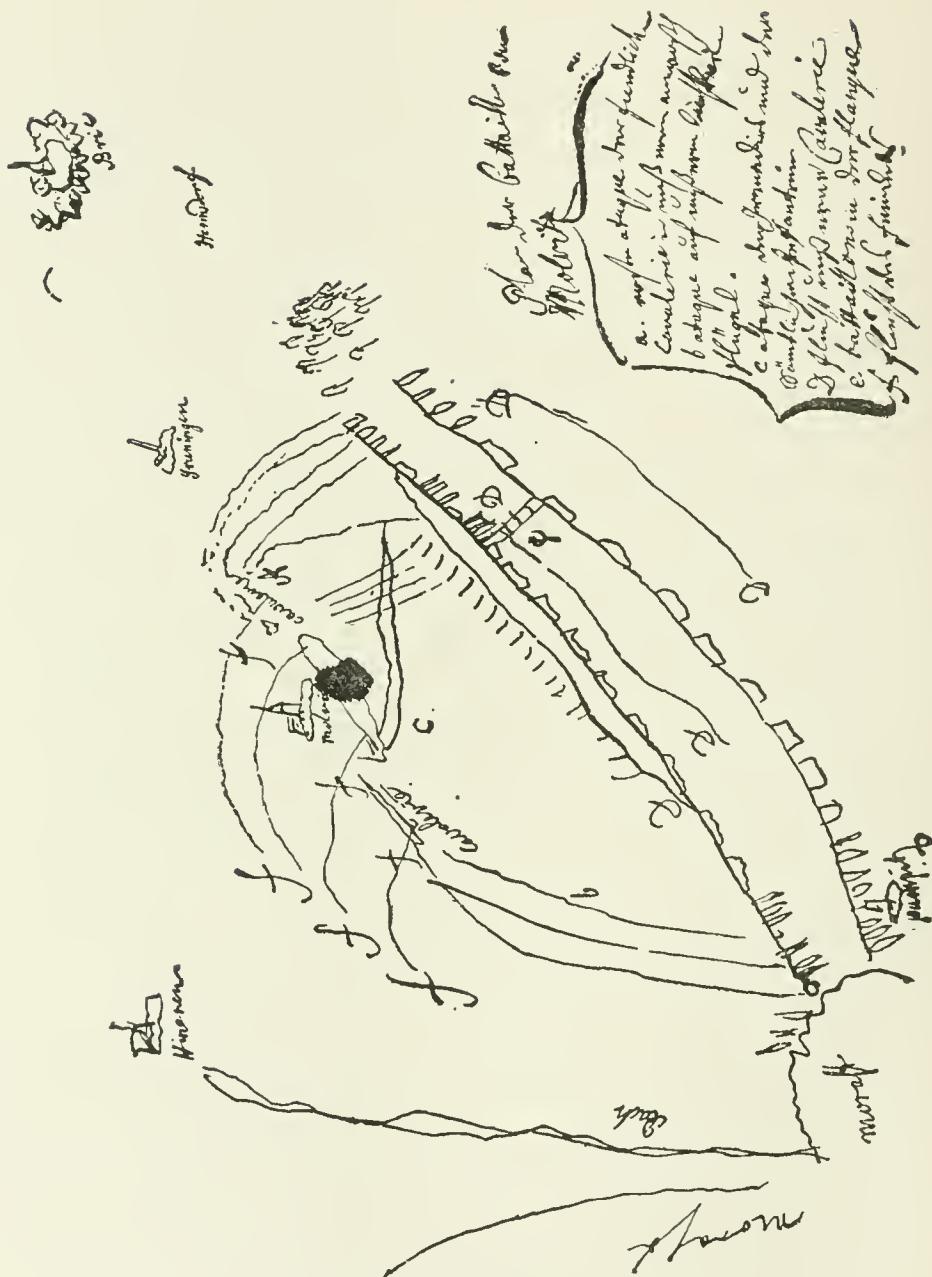


FIG. 37. — Frederick II.'s own plan of the battle of Mollwitz. Facsimile of the copy of the original from the Archives of Dessau, published by von Orlich.



PLATE XVIII.



King Louis XV. of France.

From a copper-plate engraving by J. G. Wille (1715-1808) : original painting by J. K. Heilmann (died 1760).

*History of All Nations, Vol. XIV., page 243.*

The Elector Max Emmanuel, and after him (from 1726) his son Charles Albert, had directed their entire attention to this object, after the extinction of the male line of the House of Hapsburg to obtain the old Austrian dominions and also the imperial crown. But for this they had not made preparation by wise economy and by securing a military power that commanded respect; they preferred to rely on the help of France, the old Bavarian ally. But even this plan the good-natured, honest, jovial, but at heart insignificant, Charles Albert was unable to execute. He stood in friendly relations with France; but he had obtained from that country no definite promises of any description when Charles VI. died. On the contrary, the French court felt at first little inclination to take a decisive part in German affairs. Cardinal Fleury, almost ninety years old, on account of his great age was still more unequivocally a friend of peace than formerly. The king was far too much immersed in his pleasures to feel any desire for warlike enterprises. He was more intent on his childish and excessive love of hunting, and had finally suffered himself to be seduced by his corrupt courtiers to worse vices. The evil example, and the incitements of his surroundings, the disagreeable and cold demeanor of his consort, bigoted and growing old, had overcome his pious inclinations and his great timidity. Since the year 1733 he had been in the toils of Madame de Mailly, the eldest daughter of the Marquis of Nesle, a woman intellectually insignificant, who, however, earnestly loved the handsome young sovereign. Louis XV. (PLATE XVIII.) had no desire whatever to tear himself from the narrow circle to which his pleasures had banished him. He was also far too strong a Catholic to ally himself with the Prussian heretic against the orthodox queen of Hungary. Finally France was at the point of coming to the assistance of the Spanish Bourbon against the English hostile attack; the less desire, consequently, would his government have to enter upon warlike measures in Germany also. It was therefore decided to undertake neither the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction, agreeably to treaty, nor the defense of the Bavarian pretensions. To the former the king was really bound; but he made use of the plea, that in securing the guaranty it was, of course, understood that the rights of a third party were silently reserved.

However, all the youthful members of the court and of the nobility urgently desired war either for or against Austria, if only a powerful effort were made corresponding to the position and fame of

France, and promising gain and booty. The leader of this party of action was Charles Louis Fouquet, Marquis of Belle-Isle. Belle-Isle had been obliged to suffer severely under the disgrace which, after the downfall of his grandfather, Louis XIV. had visited upon his entire family. By desperate valor and by numerous wounds he had obtained promotion to the rank of general. He combined in his person many gifts,—a brave and successful soldier, he was at the same time a model of the elegance of the man of the world, an excellent administrator, an eminent financier, and a skilful writer. It was his pressing desire at this time to be intrusted with a mission to Germany, that he might assume the position of arbitrator, and involve France in a war with Austria. Germany should be dismembered, and as an obedient vassal of France laid at her feet. To accomplish such a great work, which would elevate France forever to the place of the leading power of the world, Belle-Isle considered himself summoned.

The appointment of Belle-Isle (Fig. 38) as French envoy for the election-day at Frankfort, when a Roman emperor was to be chosen, was the first success of the anti-Austrian party at Versailles, and of the Bavarian claims. In fact, the Rhine electors were won over by the marquis to choose Charles Albert. Now the latter was resolved to act, with the aid of Prussia, France, and her allies. On May 29, 1741, he subscribed, at his summer castle of Nymphenburg, a treaty with Spain, by which the latter promised one subsidy of 800,000 livres, and, besides, 80,000 florins every month, wherewith he was to obtain the imperial crown, as well as the archduchy of Austria, Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the Breisgau; and in return he was to aid Spain in acquiring the Italian possessions of the house of Hapsburg. Besides, the electorate of Hesse, allured by the promise of the succession to Moravia and Upper Silesia, quickly abandoned the Austrian party, and acceded to the Nymphenburg league. Even France promised aid in money and men; and in order to remove the last difficulties, Belle-Isle went to Versailles. But already a decisive success, favorable to him, had been obtained in Silesia.

Here, in Frederick's camp at Strehlen, the envoys of all Europe had assembled for the purpose of bringing the victor of Mollwitz to the side of their principals. Among them was the regular French ambassador, the Marquis Valory, and Marshal Belle-Isle. While these men urgently sought to obtain from him a formal alliance with France, Frederick was not willing positively to consent, partly be-

cause he feared the ambition of the court of Versailles and its endeavor to be supreme; and then he preferred to secure a tolerable peace with Austria through the intervention of England. By all conceivable pretexts he had delayed the journey of the Frenchmen. "We must find means," he wrote to Podewils at the end of April, "to flatter Monsieur Belle-Isle in the highest degree, and show to him the greatest desire for a settlement, and yet to shun this act until the moment when we shall have tuned our flutes with the



FIG. 38.—Marshal Belle-Isle. After an engraving on copper by Mellini; original painting by Maurice Quentin de la Tour (1703-1788).

English." He was ready to obtain for Hanover the bishopric of Hildesheim and several districts in Mecklenburg, if the English would secure to him, from Austria, Lower Silesia with Breslau. He was, however, obliged to find by experience that all the fair words which British diplomatists had hitherto given him were false.

Walpole would have desired a friendly relation with Prussia; but his position was already so shaken that he dared not oppose the king's will. George II. entertained for his hereditary territory of

Hanover, where he was absolute sovereign, a far livelier feeling than for England. But the interests of Hanover appeared to him to demand that her Prussian neighbor should not be allowed to become too powerful. Consequently George was resolved, from the beginning of the Silesian war, to interfere on the side of Austria; and of this purpose he made no concealment. His plans were directly aimed at the partition of the Prussian monarchy. In April, 1741, he opened parliament with a speech from the throne in which he summoned the world to the defence of the holy Pragmatic Sanction, and announced that he was determined to take part in the struggle on its behalf. And the parliament at once granted a subsidy of £300,000 for the queen of Hungary. Subsequently the English envoys stirred up hostilities everywhere against Prussia.

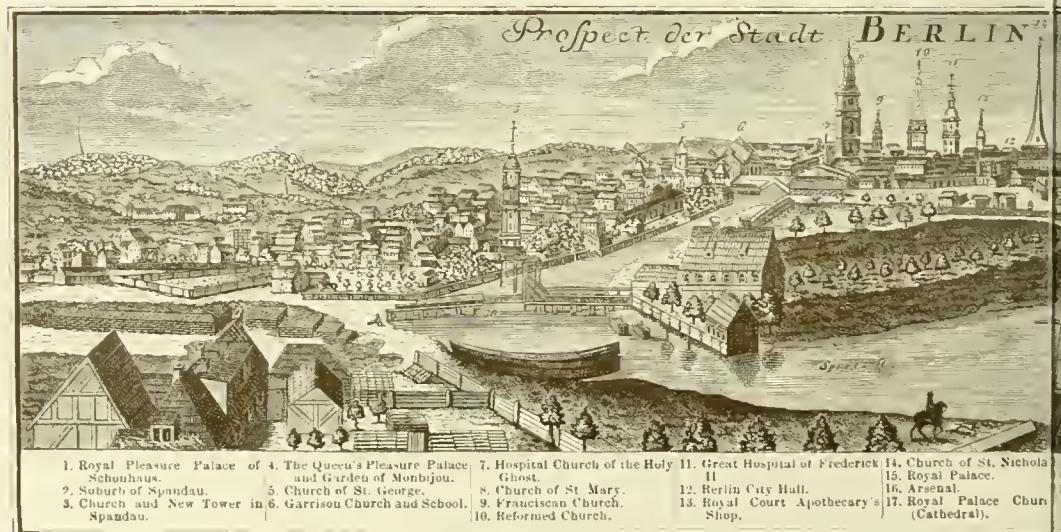
The participation of George II. was an excessively foolish step, and even for Maria Theresa was in no respect advantageous. This act put an end to all the hesitations of Fleury and Louis XV. As soon as England came forward for Austria, France was obliged to intervene on the opposite side. Now there could be no delay or negotiation on the part of Frederick. He wrote to Podewils, "I, I who would be ashamed to suffer myself to be overreached by an Italian, would jump out of my skin if I should become the plaything of a Hanoverian churl." He dragged the still resisting Podewils along with him. On June 5, 1741, he concluded a treaty with Valory at Breslau in the profoundest secrecy. In consideration of the French king guaranteeing Lower Silesia, together with Breslau, Prussia renounced her rights to the succession of Jülich-Berg. Both powers pledged themselves to aid in choosing the elector of Bavaria emperor. Besides, to prevent Russia from making any attack on Prussia, Sweden was to be induced to make war upon the former. Thus was the world-wide struggle opened, which Frederick and Fleury really had wished to avoid. The king was compelled to this course by the faithless conduct of England; the cardinal — like Walpole — by the fear of being driven from office by the war-party.

Frederick assured his new allies of his honest friendship and devotion. "I am a better Frenchman than yourself," he wrote both to Fleury and Belle-Isle. But at the same time he kept the alliance carefully concealed from the English. He allured George II. to express in the most amiable manner his desire to come to terms with Prussia when the conditions permitted it. Honorable and straightforward such a policy certainly was not, but none of the

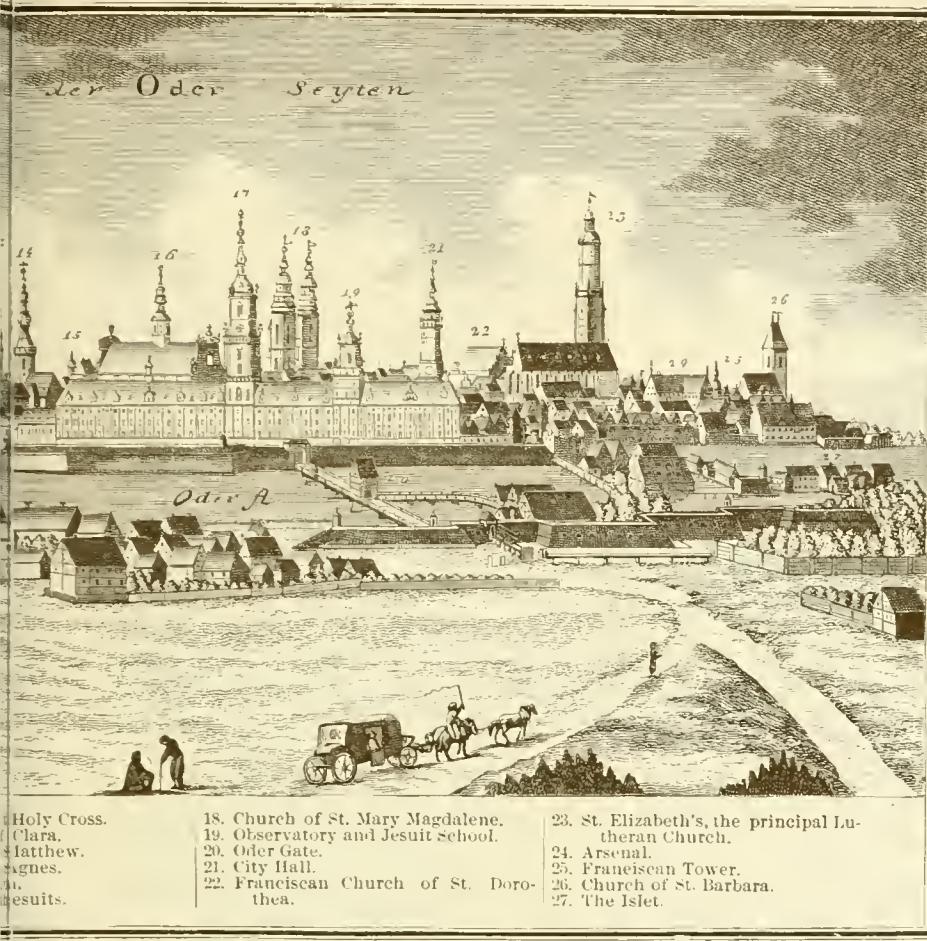




View of Breslau. Facsimile from F. B. Werner,



Facsimile of a view of Berlin at



cenographia Urbium Silesiae"; of the year 1752.



e foot of a plan of the city for 1737.



other players had upright intentions. At least the conduct of Frederick was as adroit as his views were right. He wished to prevent the French from accomplishing their special object: viz., to dismember and divide the Austrian monarchy between Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and Maria Theresa, thereby destroying the last counterpoise to their own omnipotence. For this reason he wished to leave the possibility open of turning away at the fit time from the French alliance.

Besides, he had from the very first warned the French, and said to them plainly, that they could count upon him only so long as they themselves fulfilled all conditions of the Treaty of Breslau without wavering. In that respect more recent French writers have very unjustly censured Frederick for faithlessness. "Do not



FIG. 39. — Medal commemorating the capture of Breslau. Original size; silver.

believe," he wrote to Valory only fourteen days after the conclusion of the treaty, "that I became the ally of your king on any other pre-supposition, and depend upon me no longer than you fulfil your obligations." When Fleury a second time appeared to hesitate and to be uncertain, the king threatened plainly to withdraw from the treaty. As a matter of fact, the king from the start had not left the French in doubt as to his purposes and conditions, and had explained the same to them with more openness than was customary at that time. And really he kept quietly awaiting developments the whole summer. The only thing which he undertook was, in counteraction of Austrian plots in Breslau (PLATE XIX.), to occupy this city with Prussian troops, which naturally put an end to its neutrality and its exceptional position (Fig. 39).

In August, 1741, Frederick's urgency was satisfied. His new allies began to move.

Maria Theresa, like her father, had built her hopes upon two allies,—England and Russia. It is true that both had the best disposition to help her. But both were at that time completely crippled by hostilities with other countries. The shameful and very disastrous failures of the English enterprises directed against Cartagena and Santiago de Cuba prevented England from thinking of anything besides her maritime war. But against the Russians, France set Sweden in motion.

In Sweden the 'Caps,' who were friends of Russia, were victorious in the year 1735. But in the long diet of 1738 and 1739 a complete transformation took place. Here the 'Hats' had the preponderating majority, which they used to remove their opponents from the senate, and to conclude an alliance with France for ten years. Subsequently war was constantly threatening to break out between Russia and Sweden. But France believed that the time for it had now come, in order to deprive Austria and England of Russian support. At the instigation of France, Sweden, in August, 1741, declared war against the empire of the czar. And, indeed, it was managed badly enough. The Russian generals Keith and Lacy invaded Finland, and vanquished the Swedes at Wilmanstrand (September 3, 1741); but Russia had then no inclination to employ her troops in active hostilities in Western Europe.

Meanwhile Belle-Isle, at Versailles, by his impetuosity and his intrigues with the king's mistress, Madame de Mailly, had hurried Fleury along, notwithstanding his resistance, to energetic resolutions. Without formally declaring war against Austria or England, they determined to come to the aid of Bavaria as well as of Spain. Belle-Isle, created a marshal, was ordered to cross the Upper Rhine with 40,000 men, and place himself under the command of Charles Albert. Under Marshal Maillebois, 30,000 men were to operate against Hanover as a Spanish auxiliary corps. Encouraged by these prospects the Elector of Bavaria took possession of Passau (end of July, 1741), and then pressed forward into Upper Austria, where all classes of the population willingly made their submission to him. The way to Vienna stood open to the Bavarians and their French allies. Frederick had strongly advised them to take that road, and from the walls of the Austrian capital to dictate peace. He was astonished when suddenly they turned northward toward Bohemia,

and thus designedly left Maria Theresa time for gathering her forces. "If we have Vienna," the French replied to the remonstrance of the Prussians, "the elector will have no further need of us, and that would be entirely contrary to our calculations." Meanwhile Charles Albert, who in consequence of his prodigality possessed only 12,000 wretched troops, and whose territories were covered with French regiments, was wholly in the power of France. And at the same time the latter derived still another advantage from the situation: George II., terrified by the approach of Maillebois's army, concluded with France a treaty of neutrality for his beloved Hanover, paying for it by giving his consent to the election of Charles Albert as emperor. Thus the last ally of Maria Theresa abandoned her when she was in greatest need.

Should Frederick allow the French to rule as lords in Germany, playing off one German prince against another, in order to have them all in their power? To this he would not lend his hand. England assailed him with importunities for peace; even Maria Theresa, in her utter helplessness, was ready to yield for the moment, with the after-thought of ultimately settling with the heretical king. Frederick was aware of these deceitful designs of the Viennese court; but, nevertheless, he entered into the offers made through the English diplomatists. He was excessively irritated that the French acted so selfishly, and particularly did nothing by a powerful diversion to relieve him who so far had borne the whole burden of the war. He wished to bring the whole Austrian force down upon them to make them more pliable. At the same time he desired to get into his possession, without trouble, Neisse,—the last and strongest of the Silesian fortresses. He was therefore ready for a truce, but only on condition that its validity should depend upon its being kept absolutely secret, anticipating with certainty that Austria, in order to terrify her enemies and render them distrustful, would quickly publish the treaty, and thus restore to him his liberty of action. Both parties sought to deceive each other. Frederick, who was by far the more adroit and successful, has not unjustly chiefly met the moral condemnation of posterity. He held the game completely in his own hands. On October 9 he concluded with Neipperg, at Klein-Schnellendorf, an armistice, which in profound secrecy made over to Frederick all Lower Silesia, together with Neisse, which was to be besieged only to save appearances. In return, Neipperg was to be allowed to march unmolested against the French and Bavarians.

The agreement of Klein-Schnellendorf was at least a masterly stroke of diplomatic craft. By means of it Maria Theresa was saved; for a new and severe stroke had already fallen upon her. Thanks to the wild audacity of a bastard son of Augustus the Strong, Count Maurice de Saxe, the Franco-Bavarian troops took Prague by assault on November 26, 1741. The Bohemians showed no firmer adherence to the House of Hapsburg than the people of Silesia and Upper Austria. Four hundred provincial estates, in December, 1741, joyously greeted Charles Albert as king of Bohemia. He repaired to Frankfort on the Main; the impression caused by recent events and by French *louis d'or* was irresistible. On January 24, 1742, Charles Albert of Bavaria was unanimously chosen Roman emperor. The coronation took place on February 12.

Charles Albert (PLATE XX.) seemed to have reached the summit of his wishes. But on the same day when the first crown of Christendom was placed upon his head the changes in the fortune of war had already converted him into a prince without a country.

A woman on the throne easily wins, in general, the hearts of the people; and this happened the more readily to the charming and majestic Maria Theresa. The heroic way in which she bore the fearful strokes of fortune obtained for her universal respect and sympathy. As her enemies appeared to be marching upon Vienna, she hastened to Hungary to fetch aid. Since the unfortunate Turkish war that country had been discontented. But the queen did not suffer herself to be alarmed, inasmuch as she considered it her duty to seek aid for the tottering monarchy among the Hungarians. She followed preferably the counsels of Bartenstein, who was always intent on a strong and decided course. "In matters of state," she wrote in after years, "I have followed Bartenstein alone, and I must do him the justice to say that to him alone is due the maintenance of this monarchy; without him all would have been ruined." And indeed, notwithstanding all mistakes in individual instances, Bartenstein, by perseverance and unshaken courage, supported and maintained his sovereign and his state.

The proceedings at the Hungarian diet, which Maria Theresa had summoned to meet at Presburg, have been greatly embellished by tradition. According to that, the queen showed the hereditary prince, then six months old, to the deputies, who, filled with enthusiasm, drew their swords and cried out: "Moriamur pro rege nostro;" they also at the same time set on foot a powerful army,

PLATE XX.



Charles VII. as Holy Roman Emperor.

From the engraving by J. A. Pfeffel (1674-1750); original painting by George des Marés (1697-1776).

*History of All Nations, Vol. XIV, page 250.*



which then saved Austria. In fact, the Hungarians showed at first great distrust, and an especially decided hostility toward the queen's German ministers. Negotiations continued more than five full months. But finally, through the influence of her sympathetic personality, Maria Theresa accomplished nearly all her desires. She herself was crowned, and her consort recognized as co-regent. It was resolved to raise an army of 50,000 men. That certainly was not large; besides, a great number of these warriors existed only on paper. But the moral impression produced by these proceedings was significant. Every one regained faith in the future of the Austrian state, and particularly the government was filled with fresh confidence. Less than ever would Maria Theresa hear of faint-hearted submission. After the taking of Prague by the French she wrote: "We must put everything at stake in order to preserve Bohemia. All my armies and all Hungary must be destroyed before I would ever cede anything. They will say I am barbarous; so be it, but I know very well that I shall be in a condition to compensate a hundredfold for all these barbarities which I now suffer to occur in order to save the country." She could meet the future the more steadfastly because she knew that France did not really have evil intentions toward her. Fleury had put himself in direct communication with the cabinet of Vienna, and had calmed it with regard to his intentions.

The queen set on foot two armies. That of Neipperg, which had become available by reason of the convention of Klein-Schneidendorf, and was placed under the command of the queen's consort, garrisoned a number of fortresses in southern Bohemia, and thus excluded the Franco-Bavarian army in Prague from all communication with the Danube. That could be easily done, inasmuch as the energetic and enterprising Belle-Isle had been replaced by the irresolute Marshal de Broglie. A second army was formed in Vienna itself, composed of regiments recalled from Italy and of some Hungarian recruits. At its head stood the aged but vigorous Field-Marshal Khevenhüller (Fig. 40), one of the most eminent and withal most experienced of Austrian generals. He immediately attacked the French in Upper Austria; and while Broglie remained absolutely inactive, Khevenhüller (January, 1742) drove the enemy out of Linz and Passau. Menzel, the fierce cavalry general, immediately invaded Bavaria with his wild Pandours and frontiersmen, spreading terror everywhere by his devastations and murderous proceedings.

Thus the Bavarians, who never had favored the rash seeking of the imperial crown by their prince, were forced to expiate his foolish temerity. Scarcely any resistance was hazarded. The mere cry, "Menzel! Menzel!" scattered the soldiery of the country. On February 12, the day of Charles Albert's coronation, Munich capitulated.

Among neither friends nor foes did the emperor inspire respect. He was a good-natured, ostentatious man, dependent upon his mis-



FIG. 40. — Count Ludwig Andreas Khevenhüller. (After a contemporary anonymous copper-plate engraving.)

tresses and incompetent favorites, full of personal courage, but devoid of sagacity or firmness. Now he lived upon the alms which the French grudgingly granted him. How different the position of Austria! The heroic firmness of Maria Theresa more and more won the hearts of her polyglot peoples, and aroused them to develop the ample resources of the great Austrian monarchy. Thousands of warriors poured forth to fight under the banners of this queen,

who, with a confidence unknown to the former race of Hapsburg, appealed to her subjects.

However, the success of the Austrians seemed to Frederick II. quite too decided not to be a menace to himself and his acquisitions.

What he had foreseen had long since happened. The court of Vienna, in the belief that it had completely gained over the Prussian king by its apparent submission, published on all sides, in order to discourage its own adversaries, the agreement made at Klein-Schnellendorf. The French manifested extreme indignation, while Charles Albert addressed to the king the most pressing calls for help. Frederick was determined that Austria should not be suffered to grow overbearing. He was glad that the Austrians had given him the pretext for again taking up arms. With full right could he contradict the assertion that he concluded a 'treaty' with the queen of Hungary—since a formal treaty the oral agreement of Klein-Schnellendorf had not been—and he resumed operations in mid-winter, toward the end of 1741. The district and fortress of Glatz were taken in January, 1742. And then Frederick invaded Moravia, and seized without resistance Olmiitz, its second chief city. Saxony sent him an auxiliary corps; but King Augustus (Fig. 41) was a very sluggish ally. Broglie remained in Prague: he even withdrew a division of French troops, which Frederick had positively demanded for the Moravian enterprise. Thus were the Prussians compelled to abandon the siege of Briinn, and to withdraw into the northeastern part of Bohemia. Upon this the Saxons left the army altogether. And thus was the burden of the war once more thrown by all the allies upon Frederick.

The Austrians expected to cope with him easily. Precisely at this time there was added to the military successes of Austria a great political good fortune, which seemed to promise final victory to the queen of Hungary.

Spain had formed the alliance with Charles Albert only to acquire in the war with Austria fresh territories in Italy for her younger princes. But such a design was very vexations to the House of Savoy. That house owed its continued maintenance to the fact that its two powerful neighbors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, France and Spain, had always been hostile to each other. Savoy had placed herself now on one side and now on the other, and was thereby enabled to prolong her existence. But now Spain was under Bourbon sway, like France, and was consequently



AUGUSTUS III REX POLONIARUM  
*Elector Saxonie*

Fig. 41.—Augustus III. of Poland, Elector of Saxony; in Polish costume. After a copper-plate engraving by L. Zucchi (1704-1779); original painting by Louis de Silvestre (1675-1760).

leagued with the latter in the closest friendship and alliance. Should Spain, therefore, acquire additional possessions in Upper Italy, the House of Savoy would be in serious danger of being crushed. This was very clearly perceived by King Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia. When a corps of Spanish troops landed in Tuscany, he declared that inasmuch as his claims were at least equal to those of the princees, he could not consent to new conquests by the House of Bourbon in Italy. In February, 1742, he concluded a treaty of alliance with Maria Theresa, which reserved for the future the adjustment of all his pretensions, and meanwhile put the excellent Sardinian army at the queen's disposal to defend Milan. This agreement enabled the Austrian government to draw all its forces out of Italy into Bohemia.

Still weightier was the transformation which at this time took place in England.

After Walpole had yielded to the cry for war against Spain, he was condemned by the nation. His majority in the recently chosen Lower House melted away until it consisted of only three votes. "The panic," wrote Walpole to an absent colleague, "among — how shall I style them? — my own friends, was so great that they all declared my resignation of office to be an absolute necessity, as the only means whereby the business of the state could go forward." In the beginning of February, 1742, Sir Robert unwillingly followed the urgent advice of those about him, and gave up power. The king consoled him by making him Earl of Orford. This elevation in rank soon after saved Walpole; for when the Commons instituted a criminal process against him it was frustrated in the House of Lords, of which Orford had now become a member. Three years later (1745) Walpole died, already forgotten by his contemporaries.

But his policy survived him. The new ministry, whose ablest member was Lord Carteret, secretary of foreign affairs, continued it unchanged. In one thing only did Carteret differ from his predecessor; the new minister carried on the war with all his heart. In truth, the noble firmness of Maria Theresa had rendered public opinion in England exceedingly enthusiastic in her favor: the desire was cherished not to suffer French influence to become again all-powerful on the Continent. Carteret had nothing less in his mind than to unite all Europe in the contest against the House of Bourbon. He sought even, though to no purpose, to draw the Emperor Charles VII. from the French to the Anglo-Austrian side. Minister and

parliament decided to increase the yearly subsidy to the queen of Hungary from £300,000 to £500,000; to vote for the maintenance of the land and sea forces £5,000,000; to send 16,000 English troops to Belgium; to demand of the United Provinces that they take part in the war for the Pragmatic Sanction. Meantime Carteret ordered the £300,000 provided for by treaty to be paid immediately into the public coffers at Vienna. It placed the Austrian government in a condition to clothe and arm its numerous recruits.

An army of 40,000 men was raised, at whose head was placed the brother-in-law of the queen, Prince Charles of Lorraine, young and bold, but insignificant as a general. He was to drive the Prussians out of Bohemia, and then finish its reconquest for Austria by the capture of Prague. At the village of Chotusitz, in the neighborhood of Czaslau, Frederick encountered him (May 17, 1742). Frederick led his troops in person. The Austrians fought with great bravery until the king's fearful artillery assault upon the exposed left flank of the enemy decided the bloody conflict in his favor. The battle of Chotusitz firmly established the fame of Prussian tactics and of Frederick's strategy. He himself had ordered and had led the decisive flank movement; he himself had won a battle, which, unlike the struggle at Mollwitz, had been a truly scientific military game.

By the king this victory was greatly desired, because of the prospect of peace that was thus presented. He was heartily weary of the war, as none of his allies gave him the least support. The Saxons did nothing at all. The French kept themselves shut up in their Bohemian fortresses. Their negotiations with Vienna proved that they sought only their own advantage, and were prepared to sacrifice their German allies; but to make the French lords of Germany and Europe Frederick felt no desire. The Emperor Charles VII. had never manifested any friendship for him, and besides, as a strong Catholic, could have but little friendly feeling toward the North German heretical king. Furthermore, the money resources of Prussia were exhausted. On the other hand, English diplomacy was striving indefatigably to persuade Maria Theresa to make peace with Prussia, and thereby become free to meet remaining opponents. The queen now gave up her former opposition. With the mediation of the English envoy, Lord Hyndford, peace was concluded at Breslau on June 11, 1742, between Austria and Prussia. All Lower and Upper Silesia, with the exception of the principality of Teschen

and of those parts of the principalities of Troppau and Jägerndorf lying on the south side of the Oppa, and finally the district of Glatz, were ceded to Prussia. Prussia promised that the Catholic religion should be maintained and protected throughout these districts in its former condition.

No doubt this conclusion of peace by the king of Prussia was in form a breach of preceding treaties, and a violation of his obligations as an ally. In fact, Frederick received severe censure from France and Bavaria, to which he replied only by reproaching their sluggishness. Meantime he allowed all that to cause him little uneasiness: amid the universal rejoicing of the people, whom success had completely converted from their former opposition to the king's daring enterprises, he entered Berlin in triumph. He had enlarged his territory by the addition of a third to its former extent, whose population, about one and a half million of souls, equalled nearly one-half of that of Prussia. And together with this material gain was closely connected the vast moral consideration which this war acquired for Prussia. By one stroke was she transferred from the rank of a state of the second order, and placed among the Great Powers of Europe.

With the rapidity and decision that characterized him he proceeded at once to organize the new province in a manner advantageous to the entire state. The provincial constitution must give place to royal absolutism and to a bureaucratic government. The '*Conventus publicus*' of the duchy of Silesia and the administrative organs of the provinces were suppressed. Certainly this was best substantially, not only for the sovereign's revenues which had been squandered, but also for the people, inasmuch as the traditional constitution was profitable only to the privileged classes. The new government without delay proceeded to substitute, for the former distribution of taxes on the land imposed only in favor of persons of rank, a system that was absolutely just; instead of jurisdictions involved in inextricable confusion, one uniform order of justice was established. Frederick's absolutism never had a selfish end, but was only the means to promote the welfare and the power of the whole. The nobles were furthermore compensated for the loss of political power, and won over, by the grant of places in the army, and of high civil offices. Particularly difficult in the new province was the regulation of ecclesiastical relations, especially as Protestantism had suddenly become the master of the formerly alone author-

ized Catholicism. Moreover, the stipulations of the Peace of Breslau tied the king's hands. It is not to be denied, that in spite of this the Catholic church in Silesia suffered severe losses under the new government. It was deprived of its privileges in the matter of taxes, of its influence in the affairs of the diet. Frederick showed distrust and aversion for it, for he knew well its sympathies for Austria and its secret connections with Vienna. But, on the whole, Frederick knew how to solve a question in Silesia, which no sovereign had ever before put to himself, except, perhaps, Henry IV. in France; the question, namely, how to secure to two equally legal and equally extensive churches room and existence on the same soil. To this matter pertained, first of all, the regulation of the Evangelical church. The fundamental principle of the new order of things was, absolute independence of the two parties in reference to each other, under the impartial guardianship of the sovereign.

The result of all this was not only the establishment of peace between the religions and an ever-growing material improvement of the province, but also its complete amalgamation with the Prussian state as a whole. With the exception of a few dissatisfied prelates and squires, the Silesians after a few years proved themselves the king's most faithful and patriotic subjects.

Frederick (Fig. 42) was convinced from the first that the new conquest was so far from being confirmed to him by the Peace of Breslau that he would, on the contrary, be compelled to maintain a fresh struggle concerning it with the queen of Hungary, whose rage at the loss of the great and beautiful province was by no means unknown to him. He consequently labored with the utmost energy to increase the military force of Prussia. While he claimed for himself out of the Silesian revenues only 16,000 or 17,000 thalers annually, he applied by far the largest part of the new revenues to the increase of the army and the strengthening of the Silesian fortresses. The training of the officers, and particularly of the cavalry, which had proved so weak at Mollwitz, was improved. Thus the never-resting mind of Frederick received from the most recent successes only an impulse to incessant future endeavors.

With intense eagerness he considered the military operations in other parts of Europe, which were assuming an appearance more and more favorable to Austria. Maria Theresa hoped not only to win back Bohemia, but also to find indemnification in Bavaria and Italy for the loss of Silesia.

Marshal Belle-Isle had been in despair on seeing his entire system of French protection and supremacy fall in ruins. He had hastened to Versailles, and had really, by the influence of Madame de Mailly, brought it about that the supreme command of the French army in Bohemia should be restored to him, while Broglie was placed at the head of a new army that was appointed to reconquer Bavaria. At the same time Marshal Maillebois advanced from the Lower Rhine to Bavaria, where he joined Broglie. While Prince Charles of Lorraine (Fig. 43), with the Austrian main army, directed his force against both, Prince Lobkowitz with 17,000 men undertook the siege of Prague. But though the garrison numbered 20,000, Belle-Isle regarded it as most advisable to steal out of the city on a dark night in December with 14,000 men. scarcely half of the little army was still fit for service when it reached Eger. After this retreat, the garrison of Prague capitulated on condition of departing without being molested. By the end of 1742 Bohemia was lost to the Franco-Bavarians. But unfortunate Bavaria served as winter quarters for friend and foe. The superior forces of Broglie and Maillebois recovered from the Austrians the greater part of the country, with its capital.

Prince Lobkowitz, in the capitulation of Prague, had promised



FIG. 42. — Frederick II. in 1746. After a copper-plate engraving, 1746, by G. F. Schmidt (1712-1775); original painting by Antoine Pesne (1684-1757).



FIG. 43.—Charles Alexander of Lorraine. (After a copper-plate engraving by A. du Boulois; original painting by J. le Gendre.)

an amnesty to all Bohemians who had declared in favor of Charles Albert. His queen, however, did not abide by this agreement, but punished all who had proved unfaithful with imprisonment and confiscation of estates.

In Italy, also, events took a very favorable turn for Maria Theresa. Her energetic general, Traun, at the head of some Austrian regiments and of the Sardinian army, showed a decided superiority to the Spaniards and Neapolitans commanded by the Duke of Montemar. In a series of successful engagements, he drove them out of Central Italy as far as the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. In the summer of 1742, Commodore Martin appeared with an English fleet in the Bay of Naples, and menaced the city with immediate bombardment if King Charles did not pledge himself to neutrality. Immediately Charles subscribed the required declaration. The Neapolitan troops were recalled from the Spanish army, which thereupon was condemned to absolute inactivity.

Thus fell on all sides the edifice which Belle-Isle had endeavored to erect for the glory of France and his own fame. Fleury still had the mournful satisfaction of seeing his opposition to the marshal's plans justified by events. Amidst numberless satirical songs and pasquinades, the aged minister died, January 29, 1743. Then Louis XV. imitated the conduct of his great-grandfather after the death of Mazarin. "Gentlemen," said he gravely, "now I am first minister." But how should the vast burden of state administration be borne by a king who had already lost, amid enervating excesses, all firmness of will and energy in action? Such a degeneracy of the kingdom was, in fact, the necessary result of the purely selfish despotism prevailing in France. Louis XV., from his earliest youth, naturally experienced the gratification of his every wish, and accordingly lost all self-control, all feeling of responsibility. Fleury's gentle rule had completely deprived him of all resolution of his own. Now he knew no one in whom he could sufficiently confide to give to him the guidance of the state: and, since he did not understand it himself, he left it to his mistresses.

The situation of the French armies in Germany was wretched in the extreme. The marshals Belle-Isle and Broglie were continually at variance with regard to responsibility for the misfortunes experienced and the measures to be adopted: and when Belle-Isle was recalled, Maillebois contended no less with Broglie. Officers and soldiers were reduced in strength, were badly equipped and

nourished. Contagious diseases raged among them, and moreover insubordination and open disobedience. The French government raised new levies, sent a part of the recruits to Broglie, who held the supreme command in Bavaria, and out of the remainder constituted an army of 60,000 men under Marshal de Noailles, an old and tried commander, who was expected to fight the English and Austrians in Belgium.

Although considerably strengthened, Broglie remained absolutely inactive. He suffered the Bavarian Field-Marshal Seckendorf to assume the offensive alone against the Austrian forces under Prince Charles and Khevenhüller. Singly he was not competent to meet them. In May, 1743, the Bavarian troops, while encamped at Simbach, were routed. The sad remnant was driven back from the Isar to the Danube. One fortress after another, and finally even Munich, surrendered to the Austrians, while Broglie retreated to the Upper Neckar. On June 27, Seckendorf, in despair, made with Khevenhüller a treaty of neutrality that separated the Bavarian troops, still numbering 13,000 men, from the French, and delivered over Bavaria to the Austrian government. The unfortunate Charles VII., who with justice bitterly complained of the faint-hearted and dubious conduct of Broglie, sought refuge in his utter helplessness in Frankfort-on-the-Main, which had been declared neutral. Marshal de Noailles was prevailed upon to advance from his private coffers 40,000 thalers to the 'all-powerful, invincible' emperor, so that he need not die of hunger. Charles styled himself the 'Imperial Vagrant,' while Maria Theresa triumphed, and indulged in wild gayety. At the same time she succeeded in completely winning over the ecclesiastical princes in the empire, who long since had found in the house of Austria their best defenders.

The successes on her part were rendered easier by a victory which her English ally achieved in the same summer months of the year 1743.

Blinded by his courage and warlike impulses, George II. considered himself a commander of real importance. This erroneous opinion had long imbued him with the desire to advance at the head of a great army for the salvation of Austria and the humiliation of France. At length Carteret secured him the requisite means. He therefore put himself at the head of the so-called Pragmatic army, which had been formed in Belgium, and consisted of 40,000 English and Hanoverians, as well as 20,000 Austrians, and marched with it

to the Main. Thereupon Noailles with his army moved after him; and for several weeks the two commanders stood in opposition to each other, but both inactive. Finally George wished to retire from Aschaffenburg down the right bank of the Main to the Rhine. At Dettingen (June 27, 1743) Noailles barred his way; but the Pragmatic army broke through the ranks of the fresh levies that composed the French infantry. The only result of this victory was that the army of George was able to continue unmolested its retreat upon Hanau. Here it sank into complete inactivity. But Prince Charles profited more by the favorable circumstances of the hour. With commendable energy he drove Broglie back across the Rhine. Menzel's hussars now made their appearance as plunderers in Alsace. At the same time Eger, the last place held by the French in Bohemia, fell into the hands of the Austrian troops.

The issue of the Italian campaign of the year 1743 was also wholly to Austria's advantage. The decrepit Spanish commander, Montemar, had been superseded by Gages, a younger general. But he was completely defeated by Traun at Camposanto on the Panaro (February, 1743). The French were as unsuccessful in forcing an entrance into Italy through the passes of the Alps, or in winning the king of Sardinia. Charles Emmanuel, himself a practical and crafty politician, advised by the very adroit and sagacious Marquis of Ormea, preferred the surer advantages proffered him by England and Austria. In September his ambassadors signed at Worms a treaty with these two powers, that secured to him, for his defence of the Pragmatic Sanction with 45,000 men, English subsidies to the amount of £200,000, and also, after peace should be made, the Milanese territory on the right of the Ticino, together with Piacenza. Maria Theresa had the consolation that a secret article of the Treaty of Worms promised her the reconquest of Naples and Sicily.

Thus the situation of the young queen at the end of the year 1743 was one extremely full of promise. Her hereditary lands were wholly freed from the enemy; for Silesia an indemnification was obtained in Bavaria: the French were driven across the Rhine; the emperor was helpless; and in Italy her enemies were on the defensive and destitute of power. A new ally had been gained in the States-General of Holland. They had long held off, but finally England's example and influence prevailed. In June, 1743, the States-General resolved, without indeed declaring war against

Franee, to give to the queen of Hungary the stipulated 20,000 men. At this time the hands of her Russian friends also became free. At the end of the year 1742 the entire Swedish army was compelled by the Russians to capitulate at Helsingfors. It seemed that Sweden must sacrifice all Finland, when fortune prevented it. The royal pair of Sweden had no children, and the party of the 'Hats' had destined the Danish crown-prince to be their successor. But now, under pressure of the most recent events, it was resolved to invite to the succession Duke Adolphus Frederick of Holstein, who on the mother's side was related to the house of Vasa, and whose family was also connected by marriage with the czar. For this agreement the czarina consented to the Peace of Åbo (August, 1743), which ceded only a small part of Finland to Russia, but placed the latter in a condition to throw into the scale her full weight in favor of Austria.

Victory, however, was not to be so easy for the queen of Hungary. First of all, an energetic counter-influence was making itself felt in France.

After the untimely death of Mlle. de Vintimille, Louis had chosen a new favorite in Madame de la Tournelle, the youngest sister of Mlle. de Vintimille and of Madame de Mailly. Distinguished by intellect and by beauty, she was not satisfied with the discreet position of her two elder sisters, and desired to be publicly acknowledged as the king's mistress, to be surrounded by a splendid court, and to be decorated with the title of duchess. She accomplished it all with the weak king, and received the title of Duehess of Châteauroux. But she also attached herself with real affection and devotion to the sovereign. She dreamed of making a glorious hero out of the enervated ruler. She incited him to prosecute the war with energy, and to put himself at the head of the army. A more resolute and warlike spirit began to pervade the entire policy of France, which had become, under the old cardinal, a pattern of weakness and timidity. It was decided to break with England. An alliance offensive and defensive was concluded with Spain at Fontainebleau (October, 1743); Milan, Parma, and Piacenza were to be conquered for the younger Spanish prince, Philip; Gibraltar and Minorca were to be restored to Spain; and war was to be declared against Sardinia. The eldest son of James Stuart, Charles Edward, was summoned to France in order to concert a landing on the English coast. Thus every one was pre-

pared for the declaration of war which England and France exchanged with each other early in the spring of 1744. At the same time the latter proclaimed war with the queen of Hungary. Hitherto France had only supported the emperor, but technically had not been involved in conflict with Maria Theresa. Louis XV. prepared to assume personally the nominal command-in-chief of the army appointed to act against Belgium.

Since the War of the Spanish Succession no general war like the approaching one had occurred. But France in entering so decidedly into the struggle had need of stronger allies than decaying Spain and the utterly powerless emperor. She turned to Prussia.

With growing uneasiness Fredrick II. had beheld the strength of Austria rapidly developing. An alliance with the latter against France, proposed to him by George II., he was yet too scrupulous to undertake. But, on the other hand, he well knew that Maria Theresa could not so soon forgive him for the seizure of Silesia. Besides, positive acts of hostility occurred on the part of neighboring powers. King Augustus III. of Poland and Saxony resolved, since he had not succeeded against Austria, to fight on her side. In December, 1743, Saxony signed at Warsaw a treaty with Austria and England, designated as a 'defensive alliance.' But was it merely a 'defensive alliance,' when the Treaty of Warsaw guaranteed to the queen of Hungary all the territories which Austria had held in 1739, not, therefore, excluding Silesia, and promised Saxony an immediate connection with Poland without loss to Austria, that is, a piece of Silesia or Neumark? The Austrian government had never sought to obtain the aequiescence of the states of Bohemia to the cession of Silesia, promised in the Treaty of Breslau. Moreover, there was in the Treaty of Worms (p. 263), precisely as in that of Warsaw, the language respecting a guaranty of the Austrian possessions on the ground of the Peace of Utrecht,—a proof that England as little as Maria Theresa considered the cession of Silesia to be a final arrangement. Further, the English government had not made known the Treaty of Worms to the king of Prussia: a fact which obviously must confirm him in the opinion that evil designs were entertained against him.

To meet the threatened assault of Austria, Frederick thought that on his side, too, all means of defence were to be unhesitatingly employed. In order to detach the Russian czarina, who was addicted to drink and to the worst excesses, from Austria, which she

had hitherto favored, Prussians and Frenchmen contrived a conspiracy against her, in which the Austrian ambassador, the Marquis of Botta, was alleged to have participated. Upon this Elizabeth entered into the friendliest relations with Prussia. Frederick was invited to seek a consort for her nephew and successor, Peter of Holstein. His choice fell upon the daughter of the prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, field-marshall in the Prussian service, Sophia, who at a later date became Catharine II. Frederick then established with Sweden also intimate relations, by the marriage of Adolphus Frederick, heir to the Swedish crown, to Ulrike, a sister of the king of Prussia.

Assured by these arrangements, Frederick II. was able more tranquilly to contemplate the future. Moreover, just at this time he made an important acquisition. Since 1683 the empire had pledged to Prussia the succession in East Friesland, in the event of the extinction of the existing line of princes. Under Charles VI. new difficulties had been prepared; but when, in the spring of 1744, the last prince, Charles Edzard, died, Prussian troops with great rapidity took possession of the entire principality, received the homage of the provinces for the king, and left it for other claimants to enter upon the protracted and dubious path of seeking imperial justice. It must be said, to the honor of Frederick and his administration, that in a few years the East Frieslanders had become good Prussians. It is the highest praise for Frederick and his assistants to have organically and indissolubly united and blended in a short time such important and different acquisitions.

To make sure of the new territory rapidly was the more desirable, since Prussia was to meet new perils.

In the summer of 1743 the French ministry had already sent Voltaire to Berlin to induce the king unofficially to join with France again. Frederick always made a distinction between friendship and state-affairs, and was in no way inclined to confide in an untrustworthy political dilettante like Voltaire. Besides, the Treaty of Warsaw startled him; and he soon learned that the object of the allies, as expressed in a Saxon note, was to strike at the king of Prussia, and to hold France in check until those princes were rendered harmless who had sold themselves to that crown. He did not intend to wait until France was occupied in her own land, and the emperor forced to abdicate, and thus have the road to Berlin thrown open to the Austrians, Saxons, and Hanoverians; but he resolved to anticipate his irreconcilable enemies, and in league with France once more

to try the fortune of war. His ministers earnestly counselled peace, but the king was firmly resolved to remain master of events. To suffer them to force his hand, to abandon the proud privilege of taking the initiative, was a course alien to his bold, clear intellect. Therefore he sent to Paris, in the profoundest secrecy, Count Rothenburg, a nobleman who had formerly been in the French service, and was accordingly acquainted with the court of France. His plan, furthermore, was not to appear as a subordinate ally of the French, but as a faithful member of the empire to bring succor to the emperor, and on his behalf, with the aid of French gold, to form under Prussian leadership a league of princes of the empire. On this plan he discovered the most appropriate pretext for resuming hostilities as well as the possibility together with France of playing an independent and leading part. The French interposed no difficulties of any kind. While they therefore placed considerable sums at his command, Frederick succeeded in securing for the ostensibly patriotic and imperial design at least two states of the empire, Hesse-Cassel and the Rhine Palatinate. With these and the emperor, Frederick on May 22, 1744, concluded the 'Union' at Frankfort-on-the-Main, to which all the states of the empire were invited to accede. Its object was to compel the House of Austria to reinstate the emperor in his dominions. Should a war become necessary to this end, Bohemia was to be conquered for the emperor; and to Prussia were to be ceded the parts of Silesia still Austrian, with three Bohemian circles that bordered upon it.

This pompous Union of Frankfort was evidently arranged only for the purpose of giving Frederick II. a pretext for breaking with Maria Theresa. Far weightier practically was the treaty which Frederick, through Count Rothenburg, made a second time with France at Versailles, on June 5, 1744. The plan of campaign was that Frederick was to attack Bohemia, and thus compel the Austrian army in Alsace to retreat across the Rhine; then the French main army would immediately pursue the Austrians, thus bringing them between two fires, while another French corps were to engage the attention of the English in the Netherlands. Frederick left Louis not for a moment in doubt that he counted upon the immediate execution of these two conditions, and only in that event would he regard the stipulations of the compact as fulfilled.

Before, however, these agreements could be carried into effect the Austrian interests had everywhere won new successes. Prince

Lobkowitz, who had taken the place of Traun, had, with the Austro-Sardinian army, pressed Count Gages back to Naples, and then entered the Abruzzi to attempt the conquest of the Bourbon kingdom of Southern Italy. At the same time Charles of Lorraine broke into Alsace; Lauterburg, Weissenburg, Zabern, fell into his hands. Already Charles turned longing eyes upon Lorraine. Already King Stanislaus regarded himself as no longer safe at Nancy, and fled to Metz. Pandours and Croats here fought to win Alsace-Lorraine for Germany, while 'imperial' troops defended the land which France had stolen.

Meanwhile this fortunate beginning was soon overclouded for Austria; for soon the decisive policy of the court of Versailles, and thereupon the entrance of Prussia also into action, made themselves felt. With two armies the French fell upon the Austrian Netherlands in May, 1744. The principal army was commanded by Louis XV. in person. The allies—English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians—were not able to prevent the French from capturing many of the best Belgian fortresses,—Courtrai, Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. Then King Louis received intelligence that Prince Charles had driven his enemies under the walls of Strasburg, and that he threatened to invest this city. Immediately he broke up with half of his army for Alsace. The allies, now superior in force, did nothing to repair the losses suffered by them during the first half of the campaign.

Louis, indeed, did not proceed far on his march. At Metz he became sick with a fever, and in such danger that fears were entertained for his life. The circumstance that he became ill during a campaign called forth universal sympathy for him in France, and on all sides there were evidences of the love and honor of his subjects.

While Louis XV. lay ill at Metz a diversion of far greater importance freed Alsace from the Austrians; Frederick II. again took up arms. The new conflict between Prussia and Austria thus initiated is known as the Second Silesian War. His manifesto of course spoke only of obligations to the emperor and of the freedom of the empire. By the middle of August the Prussian army, 80,000 strong, was in motion. It advanced through Saxony into Bohemia, where it met scarcely any opposition worthy of mention. Frederick hastened to undertake the siege of Prague before the Austrian army on the Rhine could come up and interrupt him; and von Harsch, the governor, gave up the fortress on September 16. The entire garrison

became prisoners of war. A few additional fortresses in Bohemia shared the fate of the capital.

But after these rapid successes difficulties began for the Prussians. While the Bohemians, who hated the invaders bitterly as heretics, laid waste the country round about, and cut them off from all supplies and from intelligence, Maria Theresa, with a natural anger against the man who a second time had ruined her happy prospects, resolved, first of all, to use every effort for the destruction of this enemy. She therefore ordered the Prince of Lorraine to lead the main Austrian army from Alsace to Bohemia. The worst thing for Frederick was the timorous and selfish conduct of the French. They suffered Prince Charles to retire across the Rhine without any engagement; and then, when Frederick urgently demanded of them to pursue the Austrians with the greatest diligence, and to join the Prussian army on the frontier of Bavaria for a decisive attack on Vienna, Louis XV., with his 60,000 men, quietly attempted the investment of so insignificant a fortress as Freiburg in the Breisgau. Its final capture had for the issue of the campaign somewhat the same importance as the conquest of Nanking. Meanwhile the imperial general, Seckendorf, with 30,000 men, very quietly and cautiously began to reconquer Bavaria, almost completely evacuated by the Austrians.

Thus Prince Charles was enabled to march with all his force unmolested to Bohemia. Frederick now would willingly have fought him before the approach of the bad time of year, and particularly before the 26,000 Saxons, who, in conformity to the Treaty of Warsaw, were preparing to re-enforce the Austrians, should join them. But the prince's military counsellor, the aged and very experienced Field-Marshal Traun, instructed him to avoid an engagement, but to harass the Prussians, and confine them within the dreary and hostile region. The result was that in November Frederick was obliged to begin a retreat to Silesia, which was conducted not without serious losses. The king himself acknowledges, in the "History of My Time," that he considered this campaign as his school in the art of war, and Traun as his teacher.

The campaign, it must be admitted, had completely miscarried, and, indeed, mainly through the fault of Frederick's allies. From this moment he thought only of withdrawing from the affair with the greatest possible despatch. In Catholic Upper Silesia the disposition was very unfavorable; many officers, and even several min-

isters, were in despair as regards the king's talents and the future of the state. What did it avail Frederick that meantime the Spaniards, led by the Infant Philip, and the French under the Prince of Conti, had beaten the king of Sardinia at Coni (September, 1744), conquered Savoy and Nice, and that thereupon Lobkowitz had abandoned his invasion of the kingdom of Naples? On the other hand, fresh and severe blows soon fell upon the Prussian sovereign, which menaced him with destruction.

The soul of the French war party, Madame de Châteauroux, was unable long to enjoy her triumph. She fell into a mortal illness, that ended her life on December 8, 1744. In her Frederick II. lost an enthusiastic admirer, who had ever set him before her royal lover as a bright example. Louis's personal and religious dislike to the Prussian sovereign now completely regained its ascendancy.

And still more injurious was another and a different death.

Amid the rejoicings and the sympathetic tears of his faithful Bavarian people, the Emperor Charles VII. had again entered his capital, Munich. But this sovereign, who was persecuted by fate, was not to enjoy long this sunny gleam of fortune. Having been a long time a sick man, he died suddenly, on January 20, 1745, in the forty-eighth year of his age. This was a hard blow for Frederick, who thus saw the only plausible pretence for his conduct against Maria Theresa disappear. And still more, Charles's son and successor, Maximilian Joseph, at once began negotiations with Austria, which were resisted to the utmost by Prussia, France, and Spain. In April, 1745, a peace was subscribed at Füssen, in which Maximilian renounced all claims upon the Austrian dominions, restored to the queen Breisgau, conquered for Bavaria by the French, recognized the Bohemian electoral vote, promised his own vote for the imperial crown to the Grand Duke Francis, and in return for all these concessions received back his land.

Thus had Charles Albert and Bavaria expiated the brief dream of imperial aggrandizement by calamity and wretchedness. But for the empire itself Charles Albert's elevation was a positive catastrophe. The contemptuous ill-treatment which this prince was compelled to experience from Austria, the abandoned and helpless condition in which the states of the empire allowed him to remain, showed clearly enough the utter uselessness of the supreme imperial dignity, if it did not repose upon the solid strength of Austria as an individual state. Its complete dependence on France had, more-

over, brought the imperial dignity into opposition to popular sympathies in Germany. The consideration for that power re-established by Leopold I. and Joseph I. was essentially weakened by Charles VI., and by the unfortunate government of Charles VII. altogether destroyed.

The death of Charles VII. caused the utter downfall of the Frankfort Union; the Peace of Füssen rendered the Austrian troops in Bavaria disposable. That was the best proof that Maria Theresa (Fig. 44) would indemnify herself with the reconquest of Silesia. Near the close of the year 1744 the Austrian troops entered Upper Silesia. A manifesto of Maria Theresa announced to the

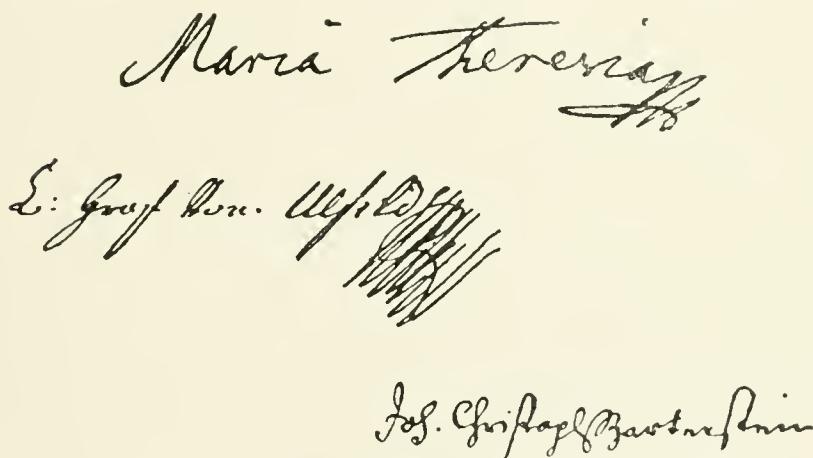


FIG. 44. — Facsimile of the signatures of Maria Theresa, Ulefeld, and Bartenstein, at the end of a communication to the Abbot of Fulda in regard to a passage of troops through his territory, dated Vienna, April 11, 1744. In the Royal State Archives at Berlin.

Silesians that 'shortly' the queen would unite them again with the hereditary Austrian dominion. All things were shaping themselves for this result in the most favorable manner. The general feeling in Germany and Europe was very hostile to Frederick, who had introduced the already expelled French a second time into the empire. Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville, had fallen a sacrifice (November, 1744) to his excessive partiality for the queen of Hungary and his foolish subordination of English interests to those of Hanover; but George II.'s dislike of Frederick, and the rise of public opinion in England against him, were of such a character, that his successors in the ministry, the Pelham brothers,— Thomas, Duke of

Newcastle, and Henry, — substantially adopted a policy toward Prussia not less hostile than the preceding. Apart from the subsistence of the Anglo-Hanoverian army in the Netherlands, they paid in the single year of 1745 subsidies to Austria and her allies to the amount of £833,000. In vain did Frederick II. turn to George to mediate a peace with Maria Theresa. And likewise in vain did Frederick and Prussia endeavor to persuade the king of Poland to become a candidate for the imperial crown. On the contrary, England, Holland, and Saxony concluded a new quadruple alliance with Austria at Warsaw in January, 1745; and then, in May, Saxony entered into a second treaty at Leipsic with Austria, in which the conquest of Silesia for the latter, and for the former the duchy of Magdeburg, the principality of Halberstadt, and some other parts of Prussia, were contemplated.

Thus was Saxony firmly bound to Austrian interests; and this was the more dangerous for Frederick, as Saxony lay between the centre of his states and Bohemia. But the most formidable peril menaced him on the east. The capricious and passionate Elizabeth of Russia, after her anger on account of the pretended Austrian conspiracy had evaporated, allowed her chancellor, Bestuzheff, who had been won over by the queen of Hungary, to attach her again completely to that side. He had recommended himself to the czarina, since he was the only one of her officials skilled in affairs and gifted as a statesman. He became indispensable to her, and brought her over to the side of the Pragmatic allies. He soon showed her, from intercepted papers of the French envoy, that this statesman himself had contrived Botta's alleged conspiracy. She ordered the envoy to be seized, and to be sent over the frontier like a common criminal (June, 1744). But she desired to take revenge on France also, and on her ally, Prussia. She designed, further, to aeeede to the Treaty of Warsaw, and for that purpose desired only a subsidy from the maritime powers. Nothing but a powerful diversion by France seemed able to save Frederick. But Louis XV. transferred to Belgium the main part of his efforts, and the subordinate ones to Italy, so that nothing remained for Germany. Thus, in the presence of numerous foes, Frederick was thrown only upon his brave army and his own genius. But while those about him desponded, he continued firm and undaunted. "If all should declare against me," he wrote to his ministers, who advised him to a disadvantageous peace, "I would rather perish with honor, than,

living, sacrifice fame and consideration. It was my pride to have advanced more than any other the greatness of my house. I have played a pre-eminent part among the crowned heads of Europe: now I am determined to fulfil all the obligations which I have entered into personally, at the price of my fortune and my life. My decision is made, and you cannot induce me to swerve from it. Think of this, that the queen of Hungary, a woman, did not despair of her star when the enemy stood before Vienna, and had seized her fairest provinces. And could you not have so much courage as this woman, although we have lost no battle as yet, and have suffered no defeat?"

With firm resolution, but at the same time with corresponding circumspection, Frederick proceeded to the work of defence. On account of the assault that was threatening from Saxony, as well as in other quarters, he regarded it as advisable to collect and station his entire army at Schweidnitz, in Central Silesia, in the neighborhood of Saxony. He thus abandoned Upper Silesia to the Austrians, who even captured Kosel, the chief fortress of this circle. Frederick's plan was, when the allied Austrians and Saxons should leave the mountains and enter the plain, to fall upon them, and hurl them back. The two armies were nearly equal in strength, each numbering 60,000 to 70,000 men. The king placed his troops behind the heights of Streigau. They were thus hidden from the enemy, when, early in June, 1745, Prince Charles pressed forward against him from the west. The very existence of the Prussian kingdom was at stake. *Pro aris et focis*, he was fighting, wrote Frederick to his ministers on the evening before the battle. Thinking the enemy to be in full retreat toward Breslau, the Austro-Saxons, in order to follow him up, fronted toward the north, while the king stood to the north-east of them, near their left wing, which was composed of the Saxons. Thus Frederick, who had made his arrangements with the greatest skill and in profound silence, could unexpectedly fall with his whole force upon the Saxons on the morning of June 4. Notwithstanding a very valiant resistance, they were finally overpowered completely by the superior numbers of the Prussians. It was not till they were already beaten and in disorder that Prince Charles, who on this occasion exhibited neither discernment nor decision, came to their aid. The Prussian cavalry immediately repulsed the Austrian horse, and thus their infantry saw themselves attacked on all sides by the victorious enemy. They fell into confusion; and this was

quickly changed into a disorderly flight by the Prussian cavalry, who dashed into their ranks. The Austro-Saxons had suffered a loss of 20,000 men, a full third of their strength, in dead, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the Prussians was only about 4000. This battle — known as the battle of Hohenfriedeberg — was one of the most splendid in all the career of Frederick the Great as commander-in-chief. It displayed the acute penetration of genius, presence of mind, and minute calculation in advance; but not less of wonderful valor, rapidity, and skill in manoeuvring was shown by his troops.

The allies withdrew into Bohemia, whither Frederick followed them by tedious marches, not to make conquests in that country, but for the purpose of transferring the burden of the war from Silesia. "I remain the same," he wrote a few days after the victory, "as I have been. Transient successes do not intoxicate me. Do not fear that I turn back in my purposes. I prosecute the war only in order to win peace."

The conduct of the French, and the situation of German affairs, led him to such moderation.

Louis XV. had given to his army in the Netherlands, which he personally accompanied, an eminent commander-in-chief in Count Maurice de Saxe, whom in the year 1696 the beautiful Countess Aurora von Königsmark had borne to King Augustus the Strong. The education of Maurice was very defective; but there dwelt in him an impassioned, ambitious spirit, which led him indeed into unbounded dissoluteness and restless selfishness, and yet also filled him with foolhardy courage, and with a longing for daring enterprises. The latter qualities fitted him for a great commander: since they were united with much acuteness, exact and extreme circumspection, inexhaustible resources, and accuracy in the smallest details of the service. This character, animated by the lowest passions, shows in his "Reveries" (*Mes rêveries*) a remarkable elevation of thought and sentiment, as well as uncommon insight into the real problems and needs pertaining to the life of an army. He favors the obligation to military service of all citizens, and emphasizes the necessity of elevating and profiting by the moral element in soldiers. The extraordinary bravery which since his thirteenth year he had displayed on many battlefields, as well as his personal attractions, had induced the estates of Courland to choose him as successor to the last duke of the house of Kettler. But although the duke's widow, Anna Ivanovna, desired the hero for husband

and ruler, he was supplanted by Menshikoff, who wished to gain possession of Courland. A corps of Russian troops made Menshikoff successful despite the bravest resistance. Hereupon the young adventurer went to Paris, and soon entered the military service of France, in which his high descent, the favor of the ladies, and his uncommon military gifts, caused him to rise rapidly to the first rank. In the War of the Polish Succession, and recently in Bohemia and Flanders, he had fought with the highest distinction. The private mentor of the king, Marshal Noailles, commended him to Louis XV. as the only possible commander. He took the chief command, and proceeded immediately to invest Tournai. When the allies, now under the command of Duke George of Cumberland, the second son of the king of England, approached with an army 60,000 strong to relieve the important city, Maurice (Fig. 45) gave them battle at Fontenoy (May 11, 1745), in the presence of Louis XV. and the dauphin. The English and Hanoverians would have carried the day if they had received proper support at the decisive moment from the Dutch troops. Only with difficulty, and with great loss, were the French able to become masters of the field of battle.

This success, however, did not leave a single fortress in Flanders proper in the hands of the allies. But how could the capture of these Flemish cities affect the ultimate results of the war? Field-Marshal Traun advanced to the Lower Main with the army of 45,000 men, hitherto stationed in Bavaria and now re-enforced; this was done at the close of the spring of 1745. He drove Prince Conti before him without resistance, until at last Conti retreated across the Rhine. Thus the Austrians had secured their next object,—to remove the French from the vicinity of Frankfort, and thereby render it possible to elect the Grand Duke of Tuscany emperor. Furthermore, the inaction of the French army in Germany had this result, that the majority of the electoral princes now placed themselves on the side of the victorious house of Hapsburg. Notwithstanding the decided protest of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector Palatine, on September 13, 1745, Francis of Tuscany was chosen emperor by the other seven votes, and one month later he was crowned. There was loud rejoicing by the Austrian party in the realm, that the imperial crown again pertained to the revived imperial house of Austria. But Maria Theresa, in elevating her weak and insignificant consort to the rank of emperor, while she was

*Hyacinthe Rigaud pince**Etching after J. G. Wille 1745*

FIG. 45.—Marshal Maurice de Saxe. After a copper-plate engraving, 1745, by J. G. Wille (1715-1808); original painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743).

still watching eagerly that she herself should remain the sole guide of the policy of her house, plainly showed to all the world, that even the imperial dignity was but a wheel in the machinery of the separate interests of Austria.

Meanwhile, the actual influence which the imperial power still possessed in some states, and especially in the ecclesiastical principalities, lay in hands in which Frederick was most unwilling to see it. He was highly indignant at the behavior of the French, who had shamefully violated all the conditions of the compact made at Versailles. The trifles which France deigned to throw to him in the form of a subsidy, he indignantly rejected. But what was now about to become of his small state, since Russia also threatened to engage in the contest against it? It was a brief gleam of light when George II., alarmed by the landing of the Stuart pretender in Scotland, concluded an agreement with Frederick at Hanover (August, 1745), in which England recognized anew the Treaty of Breslau, and Prussia renounced all aggrandizement of territory, and pledged herself not to oppose Francis I. as emperor. But if Frederick had hoped that this concession would incline the new empress to peace, he was utterly mistaken. Maria Theresa rejected all English mediation. She would rather be conquered by the French king than by the Prussian, whom she regarded as a rebellious vassal; and she preferred the loss of the distant Netherlands to that of Silesia. She even began with France serious negotiations with the view to a secret, separate peace which would have allowed her to assail Prussia with all her combined forces. When these negotiations failed, the empress still directed all her rage against Frederick, whose strength was evidently impaired. He no longer had a sufficient number of troops to make progress in Bohemia. In the beginning of autumn he was obliged once more to commence a retreat to Silesia. Encouraged by this circumstance, and the widely extended separation of the Prussian combatants, Prince Charles embraced the bold plan of making an attack on Frederick's right flank, on September 30, at Soor, in the vicinity of Trautenau. But this onset only gave occasion to the king to display his unequalled presence of mind, and to his soldiers to show their determination and tactical skill. In a moment the Prussians were ready for action; and Frederick, under the fire of the imperialists, ordered them to wheel to the right, directly opposite the enemy's front. Thus was Prince Charles's purpose frustrated. The Prussian cuirassiers utterly defeated the unfavorably posted

imperial horse. This inspired the Prussian infantry : and with irresistible impetuosity they captured the great battery of the enemy, consisting of twenty-eight heavy cannon. Now the Austrian foot were also repulsed ; the splendid victory was won over well-nigh twice the number of the king's army.

But this achievement bore no other fruit than honor and the ability to continue unmolested the retreat to Silesia. Frederick did not feel that he was sufficiently strong to undertake a decisive assult upon the Austrian dominions.

Maria Theresa, notwithstanding repeated defeats, did not yet abandon her designs against Prussia. In order to encourage Russia to attack the latter, some officers at Vienna contrived a bold stroke that was aimed at the very heart of the enemy. Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Grünne was directed to march from the west with 10,000 Austrians. Count Rutowski, another natural son of Augustus II., with 30,000 Saxons, was to move on the centre ; while Prince Charles, with the main army of Austria in the east, was to advance against Brandenburg, and, if possible, against Berlin itself.

Meanwhile this plan was betrayed to Frederick through the Swedish ambassador at Dresden. The king adopted, with the rapid decision peculiar to him, the requisite counter-measures. He himself turned to Lusatia, where, at Katholisch-Hennersdorf (November 23), he utterly dispersed the advance troops of Prince Charles, compelling the latter to a disastrous retreat in Bohemia. Meantime a second Prussian army had approached Meissen, where Grünne had joined Rutowski. Here another great battle seemed inevitable. The Prince of Lorraine was coming from Bohemia over the mountains, in order to join the Saxons, while Frederick was to join 'old Dessau' from Lusatia. However, before the king and the prince came up, Leopold (Fig. 46) attacked Rutowski's Saxons and Austrians, strongly posted and well intrenched on the steep heights of Kesselsdorf, near Dresden (December 15). At first the onset made by the Prussians upon the ice-covered mountains was repulsed ; but when the allies, in their elation over the victory, rushed from the protecting heights, and thereby threw themselves before their own batteries, they were completely repulsed by the Prussian horse : and the Prussian infantry, hurrying up after the enemy, then took possession of the heights and the village of Kesselsdorf situated upon them. The allies lost more than 10,000 men. This glorious victory of the old prince was decisive. Austrians and Saxons retreated to

Bohemia, Dresden capitulated, and the entire principality fell into the hands of the Prussians.

Frederick now positively anticipated the end of the war. He was not obliged to have any consideration for the French, who had



FIG. 46. — Leopold, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau. (From a copper-plate engraving by J. G. Wille; original painting by A. Pesne.)

left unfulfilled all the stipulations of the dual alliance. On the other hand, the constant menaces of the attitude of Russia filled him with alarm and with urgent desires for peace.

Therein he concurring with the endeavors of the Saxons. Maria Theresa also, after these events, could not but be thoroughly con-

vinced that all hope of reconquering Silesia was vain, and that her obstinacy regarding the Prussians would only result in the loss of her provinces in the Netherlands and Italy. Finally England announced that she would stop the payment of her subsidies if the empress did not conclude peace with Prussia upon the conditions of the convention of Hanover. The Austrian minister, Count Harrach, who was then in Dresden, in order to negotiate a separate treaty with France, was compelled, December 25, 1745, to enter into a treaty of peace with the hated Prussians. Saxony recognized Prussian rule in Silesia, and paid a million thalers as a war indemnity. Austria confirmed the Peace of Breslau, with the guaranty of Prussian existing possessions; and in return for this the Elector of Brandenburg acceded to the choice of the Grand Duke of Tuscany as emperor.

Notwithstanding, therefore, all the Prussian victories, the Second Silesian War ended with the success of the Austrian policy; instead of an anti-Austrian, an Austrian emperor (PLATE XXI.) ruled once more. However, this contest largely increased Frederick's renown as a commander, and the respect accorded to his army. After the repeated and unexampled victories over Austrians and Saxons, nothing more could be attributed to the favors of accident; the real merits of the Prussians had to be admitted. The army was already considered as the first in the world. On the other hand, the undisciplined and violent proceedings of the Hungarians and Croats in Upper Silesia had entirely forfeited for the Austrians the sympathies of the population. But, apart from such moral advantages, all the views and aims entertained by Frederick at the renewal of the war had been frustrated on account of the superior resources of Austria, and by the dislike that prevailed throughout Europe with regard to the upstart pretensions of Prussia. Subsequently Frederick completely lost that lust for war by which he was animated at the commencement of his reign. He had been obliged to see that the most excellent army and the most gifted leader did not suffice, amid the rival contentions of European powers, by one stroke to transform a small state into a great one. To his disappointment he discovered that by means of his recent hostilities he had benefited peoples for whom he felt only antipathy, — the French and Spanish Bourbons.

In Berlin the Second Silesian War had been regarded with no less disfavor than the first. But the heroic spirit of the king, and the determined manner in which he made use of his victory only to secure the speedy conclusion of a moderate and equitable peace,

PLATE XXI



Emperor Francis I. (Stephen).

From a copper-plate engraving by P. A. Kilian (1714-1759); original painting by  
Martin van Meytens (1695-1770).

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV, page 250.



acquired for him the love and admiration of his subjects. Already the surname of the 'Great' was universally given him. In the exploits of the two Silesian wars the common and the national feeling of Prussia was first kindled to a real flame.

The people rightly felt the importance of recent events. The two Silesian wars and their result, the handing over of a large and populous Austrian province to Prussia, imparted to the latter an entirely new significance in the German empire and in popular estimation. Hitherto the Guelfs, the Wittelsbachs, and the Wettins had been able to feel that they kept equal pace with the Hohenzollerns. Now Bavaria and Saxony were deeply abased, and Hanover was little more than an English province, while Prussia had not only outgrown all the other German territories, but had also secured her independent importance by the twofold victorious passage at arms with Austria. Prussia now appeared in opposition to Austria as her equal, as a vigorous nucleus for the other German states. Assuredly Prussia was thus in rebellion against the existing order in the empire, but it was for Germany's advantage and salvation.

Meanwhile, Maria Theresa had found it difficult to expiate her fault in not having earlier considered the Prussian proposals of peace, and the corresponding wishes of England, and in not accepting the convention of Hanover. Since, on the contrary, she had devoted her whole strength to the contest with Frederick, the king of Sardinia, being almost exclusively thrown on his own resources, had not been able to ward off the assaults of the combined Spanish, French, and Neapolitan forces. Without molestation Gages, in the territory of the republic of Genoa, which had joined the anti-Hapsburg league, had formed a junction with the Franco-Spanish army of the Infant Philip and Marshal Maillebois. This army, 70,000 strong, captured the fortresses of western Piedmont, as well as Parma and Piacenza, defeated King Charles Emmanuel at Bassignano (September 28, 1745), and finally took possession of Milan. England at this time could do little to support her allies in Italy, since in her own house she was sufficiently occupied.

From the beginning of the year 1744, the oldest son of James "III." (the son of James II.), Charles Edward, was waiting in France, on invitation, for the purpose of attempting a landing in England, and the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty. Charles Edward

possessed all the qualities adapted to capture the people's favor by storm. Twenty-five years old, he was of distinguished manly beauty, tall, slender, athletic, versed in all knightly exercises. He possessed an amiability that was fascinating, the gift of persuasive and winning speech; his manner was regal, yet friendly and condescending. His face of regular beauty, oval-shaped and finely cut, set off by blond locks, was lighted up agreeably by bright blue eyes. He was equal to labor of all kinds, and bore every deprivation with a cheerful mind. He knew how, as his brothers-in-arms boasted, "to live upon a dry crust of bread, to sleep upon straw, to eat in four minutes at mid-day, and in five minutes to win a battle." He was brave as a soldier, and skilful as a leader of small bands. It is equally true that he lacked the gifts of a commander in the field, and of a statesman, and was deficient in every kind of cultivation.

The attempts to transport him to England on board a Franco-Spanish fleet were foiled by unfavorable weather, and finally by the naval battle at Toulon (February, 1745), which resulted disastrously for the Bourbons. The French government gave up the enterprise as hopeless. But such was not the mind of the bold young 'Pretender.' In July, 1745, he set sail privately from St. Nazaire, against the advice of his Scotch friends, and contrary to the wishes of the French government; he was accompanied by a few attendants, and his destination was Scotland. He escaped the English fleet. His attractive personal appearance soon caused the most powerful Highland clans to gather around him. Without meeting opposition, Charles advanced to Perth, the ancient capital of the country, and thence to Edinburgh. The English troops did not venture upon an engagement. On September 17 Charles Edward entered Edinburgh, whose strong castle, however, remained faithful to the government. At Prestonpans, two miles east of the capital, the Highlanders rushed so daringly with their claymores upon the small army of the English under General Cope that a part of it was at once cut down, and the remainder fled in wild confusion.

A wise policy would have led the Pretender to establish for Scotland a military organization, to await the arrival of French reinforcements, and only then to advance into England, where he enjoyed much less sympathy than in the northern kingdom. But the ease with which he had gained his first successes, and his youthful spirit of enterprise, occasioned him to undertake the march southward without delay. He found at first scarcely the slightest resist-

ance. The people had for a long time forgotten the use of arms; for almost a century defence had been intrusted to hired professional soldiers. In London, among the rulers, the greatest consternation prevailed; safety was despaired of unless the English and Dutch regiments should come over quickly from Flanders. Meanwhile, Charles Edward was pressing forward unhindered; he took Carlisle, entered Manchester, and reached Derby. This intelligence produced a universal panic in the capital. On the famous 'Black Friday' (December 6) the incompetent prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle, barricaded himself in his dwelling, and advised King George II. to pack up his valuables. The tradespeople, who already saw the wild Highlanders pressing into the city, closed their shutters. Had Charles Edward continued his advance, he would, no doubt, have taken possession of London, and caused himself to be crowned king of England.

However, the Highlanders did not come. The Pretender had met with no resistance in England, but also no support. He had built his hopes upon two things,—the arrival of French troops and a rising in England; neither of the two events had occurred. The French desired to wait for the final result before venturing to land their troops upon the island of Great Britain. The Jacobites, never molested by the government, and accustomed to a quiet and peaceful life, felt no impulse to jeopardize their existence and the property of their families for the young prince. In the southern districts, with their zealous Protestant population, the Catholic Highlanders aroused positive hostility wherever they appeared. On the other hand, in Scotland, the royal forces and the adherents of the Protestant reigning house had made considerable progress: they were again in possession of Edinburgh. In vain did the prince maintain, that from these dangers only a bold advance, only the capture of London, could deliver them. The Scotch lords, who had really gone to England against their will, compelled him to give the signal for retreat. Charles Edward wished to press on, for he saw that only a daring advance presented the possibility of safety. But his angry representations had no effect against the weariness of the Highland chieftains. The retreat proceeded in the greatest disorder; the soldiers were discouraged, and not the least the Pretender, who, among his many excellences, did not possess the quality of persistence. The Duke of Cumberland, with the troops arrived from the Netherlands, followed up the Scots on their retreat, but on several occasions was bloodily repulsed.

Having reached Scotland, Charles Edward (Fig. 47) re-enforced his little army to the extent of 9000 men, and at Falkirk boldly attacked an English force of the same magnitude, under General Hawley, which was utterly defeated (January 17, 1746). But this was the last gleam of light for the cause of the Stuarts. Early in the spring Cumberland entered Scotland with his veterans from the Netherlands, while the Highlanders were for the most part dis-



FIG. 47. — Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender. From a copper-plate engraving, 1744, by Jean Daullé (1703—1763).

persed among the mountains. At Culloden the superior numbers, the better directed fire, and the greater military discipline of the English, made them masters of the wild valor of the small army of Highlanders (April 27, 1746). This day decided the downfall of the Stuart cause and of Scotch independence. With the greatest barbarity Cumberland abused his victory. The wounded, the fugitives, and many prisoners were murdered by his express command; and the country far and near was laid waste. Charles Edward,

hunted like a wild beast, wandered about through the Highlands for five months. Not till September did he find a French vessel that conveyed him, with a hundred attendants, to the Continent.

Thus ended the last attempt of the Stuarts to regain supreme power in Great Britain. It had never had the prospect of permanent success. Only the Highland Scotch, with tenacious fidelity, had adhered to the old house, while by others it was well nigh forgotten.

But the English government, with a cruelty entirely commensurate with its cowardice at first, proceeded against all who had been connected with the Pretender. Hundreds of lords, gentlemen, and commoners were executed; thousands were deported to the West Indies.

After the departure of the English troops to Great Britain, the Austrian Netherlands became an easy prey to the French. Maurice de Saxe captured Brussels, Antwerp, Mons, Huy, Namur, and Charleroi. When Prince Charles of Lorraine came thither with Austrian regiments in the autumn, and re-enforced the Anglo-Dutch army in the Netherlands, he was completely defeated by Maurice at Raucoux (October 11, 1746). All Belgium was at this time in possession of the French. The Saxon hero, the only one of the commanders who had known how to conquer in this war, became the idol of the French, and especially of the people of Paris.

The principal part of the forces hitherto employed against Prussia, Maria Theresa had sent to Upper Italy. Re-enforced by these means, Prince Liechtenstein was able, in conjunction with the Sardinians, to drive the Spaniards again out of Milan and the French out of Piedmont. On June 16, 1746, Liechtenstein gained at Piacenza a splendid victory over Don Philip and Maillebois. French and Spaniards were now driven from Italy. Three weeks after the battle at Piacenza, King Philip V. of Spain died at last, on July 9. His death completely put an end to the power of his restless, ambitious consort, Elizabeth Farnese. His successor, Ferdinand VI., the only surviving son of his first marriage, resolved to terminate immediately a war which had not benefited Spain in the least. He therefore ordered his half-brother, Philip, to lead the Spanish army entirely out of Italy. Genoa was compelled to open her gates to the Austrians, and expiate her alliance with France by the payment of a large indemnity.

After such successes in Italy, the empress embraced the bold

determination to order her troops henceforward to press into France itself; while the English attempted several landings in Brittany, which, however, utterly failed. As formerly, in the time of the War of the Spanish Succession, the English longed to capture Toulon, the most important French naval harbor. Toward it the Austro-Sardinians therefore directed their principal attention. Late in the autumn of 1746, Count Browne, with 30,000 men, crossed the Var. But from the first the enterprise was paralyzed by a general uprising provoked in Genoa and its territory by the harsh conduct and foolish inconsiderateness of the Marquis d' Adorno, the Austrian commander in that city. The revolt terminated in the utter expulsion of the Austrians from the Ligurian republic. This caused the cessation of operations on the coast of France, and the Austro-Sardinians retired to the Riviera (January, 1747), closely harassed by Belle-Isle, to whom was now intrusted the command of the French troops on the Italian frontier.

The Austrians were now desirous of reconquering at least Genoa, and began to besiege it. But the city was defended so long and so bravely that the French came up to its relief. Nice was again taken by the French. An Austro-Sardinian army succeeded in defeating the French, under Belle-Isle, at the heights of the Col de l'Assiette, on Mont-Genèvre (July, 1747). Yet this battle had no important consequences.

If the Italian campaign of the year 1747 was an unfortunate one for Austria, that in the Netherlands was more so. And yet thither had been forwarded extraordinary re-enforcements, and an army of 100,000 men was stationed there for the defence of the United Provinces.

But the French anticipated the Austrians in their preparations. Maurice de Saxe's next in command, Count Loewenthal, who also had formerly been in the Saxon service, passed the frontier of Dutch Flanders in April, and in a few weeks took several of the most important fortresses. The people of the Netherlands were afraid of experiencing the ruin of their state, similar to that in the year 1672. Once more they hoped to secure deliverance from the French by overthrowing the aristocratic misrule, and raising the Orange standard. Risings in the cities of Holland and Zealand enforced the recognition of William IV. Friso (Fig. 48) as stadtholder-general of the United Netherlands (May, 1747). He had been hitherto stadtholder of Friesland, Gelderland, and Groningen; later this

dignity was declared to be hereditary, even in the female line. Thus the overthrow of the republican party was decisive; and the commonwealth of the United Provinces was transformed, if not in



FIG. 48.—William IV. Friso, Prince of Orange. (After a copper-plate engraving, 1753, by J. Houbraken, 1685–1746; original painting, 1751, by R. Gall.)

name, yet in fact, into a monarchy. William IV. assumed the chief command of the Dutch troops, but was incompetent, and quarrelled with the Duke of Cumberland. Both were defeated

by Marshal Saxe at Laffeld, in July, 1747. Saxe immediately advanced to the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, which he took by storm a few months later.

After all these misfortunes England and Holland were earnestly desirous of peace. In the autumn of 1745 the United Provinces had commenced negotiations with France, from which originated, in the following year, the Congress of Breda, between the plenipotentiaries of France and of the maritime powers. Since, however, on the demand of England, Austria and Sardinia also had to be invited, the congress proved a failure. The military support which the states of Holland accorded to the Pragmatic Sanction, and France's declaration of war against them in the spring of 1747, resulted in the irruption of the French into the Dutch territory, and thus in the final rupture of the negotiations at Breda. But notwithstanding her successes, France was now abandoned by all her allies. Prussia had made peace two years before; Spain had withdrawn her troops from Italy, and was at work upon a separate agreement with England. Consequently the whole burden of the war with Austria, Great Britain, and Holland rested exclusively upon France. The war had brought great distress and misery upon her people, and most of her colonies had been lost; therefore she, also, was inclined to peace.

In consequence of England's demand, a new congress came together at Aix-la-Chapelle. But Austria showed herself more exacting, since she thought that she could depend upon a new ally. The Czarina Elizabeth of Russia had allowed herself easily to be induced by Bestuzheff to enter into an alliance with Maria Theresa. This was effected at St. Petersburg. As pretended, it was defensive; according to secret articles, it placed immediately a Russian corps of 30,000 men at the disposal of Austria. Furthermore, it was provided that in the case of Prussia attacking even one of the allies of Russia and Austria, a joint army of 120,000 men should be formed against that power. The Russian auxiliary corps promised in the Treaty of St. Petersburg began to enter Germany in the spring of 1748, and was directed to the Netherlands. Subsequently the language of Austria at Aix-la-Chapelle became bolder. She would positively make no sacrifice in order to conclude a peace, but, in contradiction to the Treaty of Worms, desired to re-establish, at the expense of Sardinia, the principality intended for Don Philip of Spain.

France, however, had little inclination to accede to such wishes. Instead of that, she proposed to bring about at first a peace with England and Holland, and then force the empress to accept her conditions. With this purpose Marshal Saxe invested Maestricht, in the spring of 1748; and its relief was rendered impossible by the timidity and insubordination of the Dutch mercenary troops.

The threatened loss of this important fortress completely won the statesmen of England and of the Netherlands for peace. The protest of Vienna had no effect in London and at The Hague; and in April, 1748, the preliminaries were settled, which, indeed, exacted a sacrifice from Austria alone. However, Maria Theresa believed herself unable to continue the war singly, and acceded to the agreements made at Aix-la-Chapelle. Out of these, after many separate negotiations, grew the definitive Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, on October 18, 1748. All conquests, as well in Europe as in transoceanic countries, were to be restored on both sides. Only Austria had to part with the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to the Infant Philip, and to give to Sardinia the Milanese territory to the right of the Ticino, in accordance with the Treaty of Worms. In addition, the cession of Silesia to Prussia was recognized. With these exceptions the Pragmatic Sanction received anew the pledge of all the powers that participated in the treaty.

It was the fate of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to excite the liveliest dissatisfaction in all that took part in it, with the exception of the United Provinces, which derived only advantage from the treaty. Even the king of Sardinia was offended that he did not obtain Piacenza, promised him at Worms. Spain would have preferred for Don Philip Savoy rather than Parma. The English people were indignant that all the conquests made in the French colonies, especially Cape Breton, were given back. France was discontented. All the Netherlands might have been conquered for her; why waste a hundred thousand men and twelve hundred million livres if the French must give back their glorious booty?

The complaints of the powers, which were entirely contradictory, and answered one another, showed in the plainest manner how necessary and substantially just were the adjustments at Aix-la-Chapelle. But Maria Theresa was the one most incensed by them. It was difficult for her pride to bear the fresh losses imposed on her by the treaty. She was so rancorous against the maritime powers, and particularly England, on account of the alleged treach-

ery practised upon her, that she was no longer willing to receive the British ambassador. Bartenstein, who was always her trusted adviser, confirmed her in this feeling. She had been worse treated by her allies, she maintained, than by her enemies.

And yet the complaints of the empress were wholly unjust.



FIG. 49.—Seal of the Empress Maria Theresa.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of original size. Inscription : Maria Theresia D[ei] G[ratia] Rom[anorum] Imperatrix Reg[ina] Germ[anorum] Hung[ariae] Boh[emiae] et Arch[idux] A[ustriae] Dux Burg[undiae] Brab[antiae] et Com[es] Fland[riae]. (From an impression in the Royal Privy State-Archives at Berlin.)

Solely for her sake had England carried on the contest so long against the Bourbon powers. Only for her sake had Holland taken up arms at all. Only out of regard to her England was ruining herself financially; only by the ample English subsidies was she saved; and in the peace the English had restored the conquered French colonies, so that France might restore Belgium to the empress.

With not less justice England had had the guaranty of Silesia taken up in the instrument of peace, so that the quiet of Europe might not be shortly disturbed again by Austrian plans of aggression. But the empress was too truly a woman not to look at matters exclusively from her personal point of view. She turned decidedly away from Austria's old friends, the maritime powers, and sought rather to secure — while at the same time earnestly cherishing the Russian alliance — a close relation with France.

The unappeasable hatred of Maria Theresa (Fig. 49) for Frederick the Great, and the endeavor, with Russian and French assistance, to regain Silesia, were to control European politics for the next thirty years.

## CHAPTER IX.

### EUROPE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

SELDOM has a reign begun under such favorable auspices as that of Louis XV. French loyalty, profoundly shaken by the abuses that prevailed in the time of Louis XIV., sought once more to cling firmly to a hope; and this hope was the innocent child who was growing up on the steps of the throne. His uncommon beauty and his friendly ways gained the hearts of all Frenchmen and of the world at large. "Louis XV. is the child of Europe," said the Emperor Charles VI. His variable health excited public sympathy to the highest degree. All France resounded with the strains of the *Te Deum* at the intelligence of his recovery, and the churches could not contain the multitude of thankful suppliants. When he grew up it was a sorrow to the people that he was under the prolonged guardianship of his ministers. Every one desired the rule of the hereditary ruler: his first, as yet moderate, excesses found ready forgiveness as the errors of youth. After the death of Fleury, the longed-for moment seemed to have arrived. "At last we have a king!" was the universal cry. Yet some anxiety was occasioned when he took his mistresses with him on his campaigns, and endeavored to renew all the antiquated traditions of the days of his great-grandfather. When, therefore, Louis, recovered from a severe illness, and adorned with the renown of a successful campaign, entered Versailles in triumph, accompanied by his pious consort, on October 12, 1744, the jubilant acclamations of the multitude greeted him for the last time as the "Well-beloved." Already there mingled, in the ovations offered him, the cry given with significant emphasis, "Long live the queen," expressive of the people's expectation that the sway of mistresses would now be over. But Louis gave the lie to all the hopes based on his transient moral improvement with death in prospect. The wishes of his subjects were contemned by the spoiled and flattered despot. With growing displeasure France saw the sovereign sinking deeper and deeper in his excesses, while

the state was losing power and consideration, and, as regards administration and finance, plunging into boundless disorder.

The Duchess of Châteauroux had scarcely died when his pandering courtiers were intent on providing the king with a new mistress. This was by no means an onerous mission, for, with the shameless boldness that sadly characterized the high society of the France of that day, the ladies of the court pressed upon the sovereign in order to secure the practical advantages that were accustomed to accrue to the favored one from his adulterous embraces. At last the king selected one by throwing his handkerchief, ostentatiously and in the midst of a public festival, to a charming young woman who for a long time had been soliciting his favor. It was Madame d'Étioles.

The maiden name of the new favorite was Jeanne Antoinette Poisson. She was the daughter of a cheating clerk, who had escaped the gallows with difficulty, and of a beautiful, frivolous woman, who had numerous lovers. The last of these, a rich farmer of revenues, Le Normant de Tournehem, had young Jeanne well educated. Her natural endowments, combined with the advantages of a very voluptuous figure, fresh color, shining brown eyes, extremely beautiful hands and teeth, as well as a winning grace, rendered her soon one of the most attractive young ladies of Paris. At the age of twenty, in 1741, she married d'Étioles, a nephew of her benefactor. But this rich marriage, the honest affection of her gallant husband, and the birth of her children, did not satisfy a woman who was thoroughly conscious of her eminent advantages, and was devoid of all moral sense. Finally her ambition was crowned with success, when she became the king's acknowledged mistress, and received from him the title of Marchioness of Pompadour (Fig. 50). Her husband, who was almost killed by grief, was banished for a while to the provinces (1745).

The beauty and the bright and amiable manners of the new marchioness completely subjugated weak Louis XV. But she knew how to handle the sovereign with the most consummate skill, entered into all his whims and wishes, and took pains above all to guard against his becoming bored. The fear of losing the king's fancy constantly tormented her: and therefore she willingly allowed him from time to time a little infidelity, after which he always turned back the more eagerly to her. To flatter his sensual propensities, she erected, in a quarter of Versailles called the 'Deerpark' (*Parc-aux-Cerfs*), a house, in which from time to time a fresh sacrifice was offered to his lusts.

The poor queen was obliged to admit the courtesan into her company. The dauphin, who hated her, was overwhelmed with humiliations. Other members of the royal family grovelled before her in order to beg offices and pensions through her influence. She conferred the important and lucrative places, — ministerial posts, governorships, offices in finance, down even to police-officers. Her favor

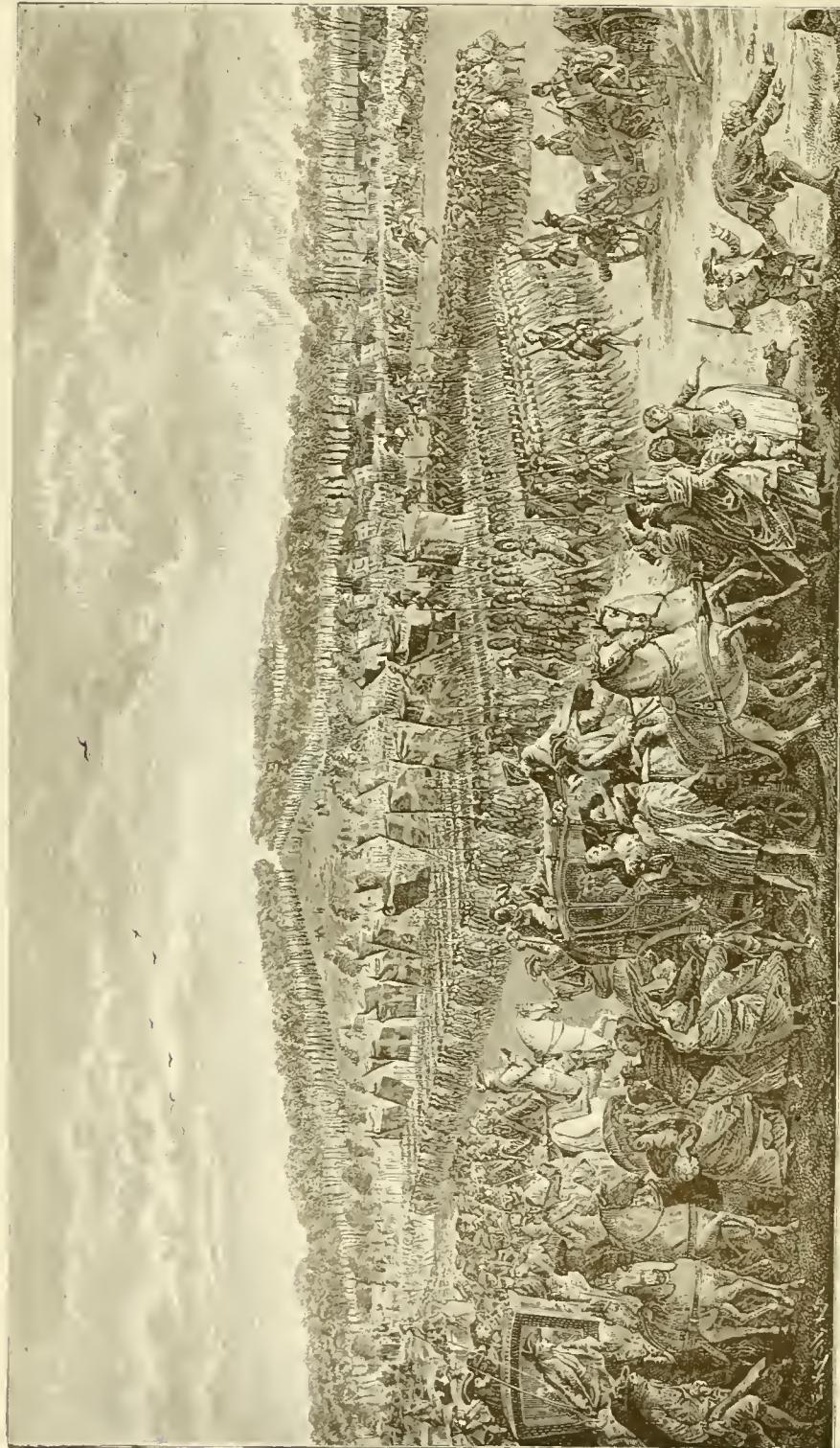


FIG. 50. — Marchioness of Pompadour. After the original painting by Maurice Quentin de la Tour (1703-1788).

was not always employed without pay; if her friends or servants were not concerned she sold appointments at a corresponding high price. In other respects she was insatiable in obtaining riches for those belonging to her and for herself. After she had been the king's mistress for six years her property was estimated at twenty million livres. Her yearly expenses amounted to at least one mil-



PLATE XXII.



Louis XV. reviews the French and Swiss guards on the field of Sablons.  
From a copper-plate engraving by Malboste, Lénard, and Née; original painting by J. M. Moreau the younger (1741-1814).

lion. But far more costly were the expenditures which she had the state treasury make in order to divert the king, or to satisfy her own insatiable desires for new buildings, which were erected with incredible pomp. Louis XV. was weak and indolent enough to commit the government entirely into the hands of Pompadour and her creatures. This despot, who by the stroke of a pen could dispose of the life and property of every subject, did not venture to oppose openly his servants and his mistresses. In all great questions of state the final decision always remained with Pompadour.

Thus was France plundered in favor of a base courtesan, to whom, with light-minded frivolity, the king intrusted the guidance of public affairs, as well as the disposition of the national funds.

In point of fact Louis XV. had come to regard himself as the absolute and irresponsible owner of a great kingdom, that existed only for his accommodation and his enjoyment. He lived, remote from the industrial and thinking classes, in a city of 70,000 inhabitants built solely for him; for in Versailles there was no house that was not in some way associated with the court. All was for his service and recreation. Even art itself forsook the straight line, the majestic repose, and noble simplicity, to give itself over in the roccoco style to tasteless, convoluted ornamentation, to the play of undulating lines, and to gorgeous decorations. The internal decorations of the apartments at Versailles are brilliant and fascinating, overloaded with gold, in luminous variegated colors, without nobility of idea, but calculated only to captivate the senses. Following the example of Watteau (1684-1721), painting deserted the representation of pure nature, of great historical events, and of pious scriptural subjects, to regale 'good society' with scenes from its own elegant parks, or representing the charms of pastoral life. François Boucher (1703-1770) fittingly became the court painter of Louis XV. This period is, moreover, the epoch of porcelain groups and painting on porcelain, whose lovely, laughing shepherdesses and gallant swains, with their regular, characterless features, seem to have stepped out of the salons of a duke of Richelieu or a marchioness of Pompadour.

This highly aristocratic 'good society' constituted the environment of the king. Two thousand people were, for him, France. But along with them came countless followers. In all, the king's civil household may be rated at 4000, his military (PLATE XXII.) at 9000, that of his kindred at 2000. In all, accordingly, the im-

mediate service of the royal family may have employed 15,000 individuals. All these lived at the expense of the people, without being of the slightest use to them. The service of the royal family cost yearly forty-five million livres, a tenth of the yearly revenue of the state. A single apartment for a daughter of Louis XV. demanded 800,000 livres. A short journey of the king cost 120,000 livres. But the nobles constituting the court would have felt themselves disgraced if their outlays had not rivalled those of the princees, whether in keeping with their ability or (as was generally the case) beyond it. Untold millions were squandered yearly in this profitless display. The salaries of the high officials had to be raised to 200,000, or even 500,000 livres to meet the cost of such a life. All these courtiers and servants were occupied about the person of the sovereign in accordance with a precisely defined system of etiquette, the observance of which filled their whole day. Louis himself had scarcely one hour free for work. For this tedious constraint he compensated himself at night in his little suppers with his mistresses and favorites.

And the example of the court was followed in the provinces. Every one threw away his gold with both hands; for he was secure of pressing it again from the masses, from the 'canaille.' A bishop of Strasburg lodged in his palace at Saverne 200 guests with 500 servants. Everywhere the castles of the nobles offered free quarters for people of their own class. In the nunneries men danced, and found most excellent amusement. Of fidelity to the marriage-bed no one of either sex so much as thought. Such as observed it were simply objects of derision. The rich burghers lived no whit less jovially than the nobles. They led selfish lives of sweet repose, in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of the senses, of art, literature, and intellectual society. Never was art better patronized and more finely and pleasingly developed. Germans were hired to win their battles, since Frenchmen were no longer capable of doing that themselves. The successors of Condé, Turenne, and Villars bore the names of Saxe and Loewendahl.

But to the masses such a distribution of this world's goods began to appear unjust. On the one side they saw a minority who made the state pay for their own self-indulgence: on the other, a toiling, suffering majority, on whom the state only imposed burdens without conferring any benefit. The discontent was directed against the king. The enthusiasm of 1744 soon waned away. Men saw that

Louis XV. fulfilled none of the duties of a ruler, but was completely immersed in the pleasures of the seraglio. The peace of 1748, that brought no compensation for the sacrifices in men and millions, aroused the indignation of the people, who saw in the king's warlike expeditions only bloody diversions for himself. Envenomed pamphlets denounced him as an infamous and eowardly squanderer of the means of his subjects, jeered at the buffoons through whom he governed, and ridiculed his miserable generals who were rescued by foreigners. In zealously disseminated woodcuts Louis was to be seen delivered over by the Pompadour in chains to the blows of foreigners, with the ironical inscription: "Scourge him well, he will give up everything."

What had become of the infallibility of monarchy, when at the court itself an opposition could assert itself? This rallied around the queen, who, though she did not make open demonstration against her spouse and his mistress, yet plainly encouraged the attacks on them. The minister of the marine, Maurepas, was the soul of this party. A biting epigram on the Poisson-Pompadour, which came immediately to her ears, decided his fall. In 1749 he was deposed from his office, and banished to Bourges. Previously, in 1747, the profound political thinker, the Marquis d'Argenson, had been dismissed. For over two years he had been attempting to mould the foreign policy of France so as to get the support of the states of the second rank against England and Austria, and thus recover her preponderating influence on the destiny of Europe. But his spirited and national policy appeared to the intriguing spirit of the Pompadour a chimera: and d'Argenson fell, never again to receive an official position.

This government, that did so little for its subjects, continued to victimize them with a smiling face, as if its doing so was a law of nature: and while, without making much ado, it surrendered the conquests made through the sweat and blood of its people, it dealt with the state finances with as little conscience. To meet the floating debt, the finance minister, Machault, adopted the rational and correct idea of redeeming the debt through the imposition of a general property tax of five per cent. But all the privileged classes raised an outcry against this violation of their most valued prerogative,—exemption from taxation. The Parlement repeated the language of the Fronde, the clergy protested against the taxation of their wealth, the provincial estates appealed to their ancient consti-

tutions. In vain did the king relegate nearly all the bishops and a number of nobles to their dioceses or estates. In the end the government had partially to give way, and exempt the clergy from the income tax, and, by so doing, not only made itself contemptible, but rendered the impost more hateful to the other classes.

The discontent of the people with the scandalous doings of the rulers grew greater and greater, and more threatening. Placards appeared on the streets with the inscription: "Shave the king for a monk, hang Pompadour, break Machault on the wheel." When bread failed, the people naturally ascribed the blame to the all-powerful government. In 1747, serious riots occurred in Toulouse, on account of the dearth of provisions; in the province of Guienne the same was the case at every market. In 1750, 7000 men rose in the little district of Béarn. In 1752, rioting continued for three days in the city of Rouen; in Dauphiné and Auvergne, mobs of peasants broke into the granaries, and appropriated their contents at prices fixed by themselves. But most threatening of all was the revolt that broke out in the capital in May, 1750, not prompted by the temporary dearth of food, but by an incident growing out of the whole arbitrary system of the old régime. The police agents had been promised a premium for every young sturdy beggar or vagrant, male or female, they laid their hands on, for deportation to the plantations of Louisiana. To make the most profit possible, they seized law-abiding citizens, and especially half-grown children, of whom numbers disappeared every day. The people thought the king had them seized in order to have his vigor—exhausted by voluptuous living—restored through regular baths in children's blood. When the police agents went so far in their audacity as to seize children on the streets of Paris in broad daylight, wild tumults broke forth, from which the Pompadour barely escaped with her life, and which compelled the king, instead of passing through Paris on his way to Compiègne, to make a détour around the city. The rioting lasted three days, and from that time on Louis would never enter his capital.

A man of keen perception, and an acute thinker, such as was d'Argenson, saw even then the coming of a great political social revolution. "Anarchy is advancing with giant strides," he wrote in the fifties; "it may be that a new style of government is already maturing in certain heads, to declare itself on the first opportunity. To-day all classes are discontented,—the military, since they were

disbanded by the peace; the clergy, threatened in their prerogatives; the parlements, the corporations, the estates, humiliated; the common folk crushed down by taxes and wasted through want; only the financiers triumph. From a rising it is easy to pass to revolt; from revolt to revolution."

It was no mere accident that the year 1748 marks the date of the outbreak of the open literary rebellion against the system of absolute government. D'Argenson had not ventured to publish his sentiments. Montesquieu was bolder. In 1748 appeared his "Spirit of the Laws" (*L'Esprit des Lois*). In this admirable production the author seeks to investigate the principles lying at the basis of every form of constitution, the necessary good or evil effect of each, the means for promoting the former and preventing the latter,—lays down, in fine, the complete theory of history and policy, and that not on *a priori* grounds or from a preconceived opinion, but firmly based on historical fact. In regard to practical details he attracted no less attention for having occupied himself with the English constitution, whose development he showed to the world for the first time in a systematic way. He makes himself the enthusiastic eulogist of constitutional monarchy, which he believed to be ideally realized in England. "There are," he says, "in every state three kinds of powers,—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or the same corporation, there can be no freedom: for it is to be feared that this prince or corporation would enact tyrannical laws in order to execute them tyrannically. In like manner there is no freedom when the judicial power is not separated from the legislative and executive. Allied with the legislative, the power over the life and freedom of the citizens would be unrestrained, for the judge is also the legislator: allied with the executive, the judge has the power of a despot. In a free state the legislative power is vested in the whole people. But, as the direct exercise of this is practically impossible, the people must exercise it through representatives chosen by themselves. But besides these there are, in every state, men pre-eminent through birth, riches, and rank. If these were associated in the same chamber with the others, and voted along with them, the common freedom would become for them thraldom. The share they have in legislation must, accordingly, be in keeping with their position. For this reason they constitute a separate body or chamber, having the right to act as a check on the resolutions of

the people, as the people can on theirs. The executive power must be in the hands of the monarch. If there were no monarch, and the executive power were in the hands of a number of persons chosen out of the legislative bodies, there would, again, be no longer any freedom; for the two powers would be lodged in the same hands."

These views of Montesquieu constitute a great chain of errors, the chief of these being that he assumes that there is a typical form of constitution applicable to all peoples, and that he ignores all geographical, social, and historical conditions, national temperaments, customs, and views, in order to mould all states after the same model. In other respects, also, his ideal constitution is impracticable. The symmetrical division of the three powers can nowhere be realized, but would simply have as a consequence the dissolution of the state. Three co-existent powers, working side by side, must necessarily strive for pre-eminence till one makes itself master of the others. In point of fact, Montesquieu's view of the English constitution was altogether erroneous. First, he saw in it an instrument consciously constructed on a fixed plan in its whole and its every detail. The direct opposite is the case. This constitution was the outcome of a thousand years' development, moulded by national character, historical events, and geographical conditions.

But neither the justness nor the unsoundness of a theory determines its influence and effect, but the impression it makes on the contemporaneous world and immediate posterity. And the dazzling brilliancy of Montesquieu's original, and apparently so logically coherent, demonstrations fascinated his own and subsequent generations. The tendency of the whole century was towards the abstract, the general, and systematic, while it was thoroughly turned away from historical investigation. Man lived in the inspiring belief that he could press forward to the pure and eternal truth. Besides, the details of the English constitution were unknown on the Continent. Men knew that under it Britain had become great, free, and rich, and were, therefore, ready to believe all the good that was said of it. So Montesquieu's theories were soon the common property of all cultured, moderate, and well-disposed men. The doctrine of the division of powers and of the necessity for the two-chamber system became the fundamental principle—the axiom—of all political reasoning. The "Spirit of the Laws" found instant and universal acceptance. Within less than eighteen months twenty-two editions were called for, while translations were made of it into almost every

foreign tongue. "It has turned the heads of all Frenchmen," wrote Raynal to a German princess; "it is found alike in the studies of the learned and on the toilet-tables of our ladies of fashion and their beaux." Even Pompadour greeted the president with the flattering title of 'Lawgiver of Europe.' A few years after the appearance of this, his greatest work, Montesquieu died, in 1755. Not till then did its influence make itself felt.

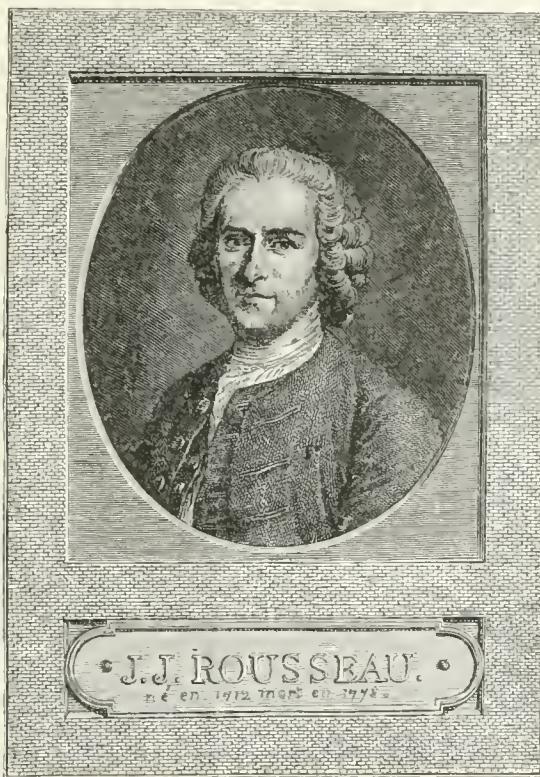


FIG. 51.—Jean Jacques Rousseau. After a copper-plate engraving by A. de St. Aubin (1736-1807); original painting by de la Tour (1703-1788).

But soon there appeared, by the side of these reforming elements, others of a more resolute and radical type, which had not mere reform in view, but the overthrow of all existing institutions and social conditions. The first and most powerful of these spirits, destined to stir the European world to its depths, was Jean Jacques Rousseau (Fig. 51).

Born at Geneva in 1712, the son of an artisan, Rousseau, after

the death of his father, ran away, when fifteen years old, from his apprenticeship, and led a vagabond life in the neighboring Savoy. Suffering equally from moral and material destitution, his speculative and restless mind was able to assimilate a mixed mass of learning in diverse spheres. In his thirtieth year he came to Paris, where he earned his bread, sometimes as a secretary, sometimes as a composer, entering, however, into disreputable relations with a maid-servant. Notwithstanding this, his brilliant intellectual endowments gained him admission into the literary circles, where he was regarded as a sort of remarkable savage. Gifted with a lively imagination, captivating eloquence, and a strong logical faculty, filled with burning ambition, independent of all the bonds of morality and society, and of strong carnal appetites, Rousseau launched himself on the world as the enemy of all traditional conditions, and a fiery apostle of an entirely differently constituted future. The indignation fermenting in Geneva against the ruling oligarchy, which found vent in 1737 in wild tumult, strengthened his revolutionary tendencies, while the deep religious feeling that, in his native city, never lost its influence, explains the deistic trait and idealistic convictions that distinguished him from his sceptical and materialistic French contemporaries, and lent him the character of an enthusiast and prophet. He was, although under altered circumstances, the true offspring of the disciples of Calvin and Farel.

Ultimately, in 1749, an opportunity offered itself to him of emerging from the obscurity and indigence in which he had hitherto lived. The Academy of Dijon had proposed as a prize question, "Whether the revival of art and learning had contributed to elevate morals?" undoubtedly expecting an affirmative answer in the usual scholastic phraseology. Encouraged by his friend Diderot, Rousseau decided to give vent to his long-cherished grudge against modern society and its shams. He thus made a brilliant assault upon modern refinement, ostentatious luxury, and civilization as the parent of injustice and immoralities. He praised with strong emphasis the simple children of nature. Science and art he charged as being the enemies of truth and honesty, and the authors of most of the imperfections and abuses in organized society.

Although the Academy of Dijon did not approve of the principles expressed in Rousseau's paper, yet, in virtue of the pre-eminent talent manifested in it, they had to award it the prize. The dissertation produced the greatest sensation in France and elsewhere. Many

answers followed; even King Stanislaus considered the matter serious enough to descend into the literary arena against this free lance. Thus assailed, the essayist replied, emphasizing still more strongly his social tendencies, and attacking and condemning "the scandalous conception of Mine and Thine." The original question was lost sight of, and the quarrel fought out on quite other ground. The Academy of Dijon was hereby moved to propose, in 1753, a new prize problem: "What is the Origin of the Inequality Among Men, and is it founded on a Law of Nature?" Naturally Rousseau undertook its solution. With wonderful art, — which, however, could not conceal from acuter minds the fallacy of his thesis, — he sought to show that all men were created equal, and lauded the state of nature, in which our progenitors ran about naked in the forests, as the only healthy and really happy condition. Thinking had produced the first falling away from the Golden Age. Then the introduction of property had destroyed this original freedom and equality, and established pernicious rights and laws. To maintain these, men had instituted the 'social contract,' which only served to confirm the superiority of the strong over the weak, making the rich still richer and the poor even poorer. The third step in inequality is the transition of the lawful magisterial power to a hereditary and arbitrary one, thus initiating the distinction between master and servant or slave. According to Rousseau, therefore, civil society is, like civilization itself, an evil from which there is no deliverance except by coming back to a state of nature.

These principles were not, indeed, new; but the fiery eloquence with which he unfolded them, and the radical decisiveness with which he pointed out and championed the cure, were novel to men. Social democracy took its stand here against the parliamentary, constitutional civil state of Montesquieu.

But the masses were not yet sufficiently aroused and embittered to be ripe for the acceptance of Rousseau's teaching; the age was still dominated by Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws." This constitutional opposition to monarchy allied itself most closely with the Jansenists. All the great cities, especially Paris, adhered to this twofold opposition to the ruling powers in the state and church. In vain did the court attempt to quell its adversaries.

The archbishop of Paris, a zealous Ultramontane, had forbidden his clergy to grant absolution to such of the dying as had not accepted the bull *Unigenitus*, and had, moreover, been guilty of various

transgressions of his power at the cost of the Parlement. This body took up the gauntlet thrown down to it by the prelate, and ordered the arrest of the priests who obeyed the archbishop's command, finally decreeing the confiscation of the latter's worldly possessions. Public opinion placed itself on the side of the judges, as against the clergy. The king took the side of the clerical party, by which the Parlement was so much encouraged in its resistance that it refused obedience to the monarch's demands, and, unmoved, pursued its coercive measures against the bigoted priests and bishops. The eloquence with which a Pueelle and a Menguy combated the Ultramontanes raised an uproar in Paris. But Louis resolved to vindicate his absolute power. The dauphin was a submissive servant of the priesthood; the minister, Count d'Argenson—much unlike his elder brother the marquis,—was closely allied with the Jesuits. It was accordingly resolved to proceed with vigor against the Parlement, some of whose members were exiled or made prisoners, while the remainder were sent to Pontoise to continue their judicial functions there. But as they persisted in their resistance, the king transferred the supreme judicial authority from Parlement to a chamber composed of administrative officials (1753). Sustained by the sympathy of the people, the inferior judges stood by the Parlement, and paid no attention to the decisions and edicts of the newly erected royal chamber. The parlements of Rouen, Aix, and Toulouse took measures against Ultramontane priests and bishops. If the monarch intervened against these supreme tribunals, the wheels of justice throughout all France would be stopped. This Louis, who desired, above all things, domestic peace, did not venture to face. Accordingly, he gave way, recalling the entire Parlement to Paris, and renouncing all opposition to the prosecution of the intolerant clergy.

Meanwhile the antagonism between the traditional absolutism of the crown and the aims of Parlement was too fundamental not to come soon again to an outbreak. Enraged and dismayed at their defeat in the conflict about the sacraments, the ministers devised a plan for gradually abrogating the dangerous power of the Parlement by transferring all its functions, one after the other, to the 'Great Council,' composed of dependent administrative officials. But their scheme was soon detected; and the seven provincial parlements took, with prompt decision, the part of their Parisian colleagues, in whose cause they saw their own. The entire French judiciary declared war on the unlimited power of the crown. The Fronde

seemed to be resuscitated, with all the cultured and sound-thinking people on the side of the Parlement. The latter was striving to establish itself as an intermediate power between the crown and the people, and to impose restrictions on the former which the Bourbon kings, by the abrogation of the States-General, had swept away a hundred and fifty years ago.

Towards the end of 1756 the struggle burst forth anew; first, over the endless question provoked by the Jansenists' resistance to the bull *Unigenitus*, and then over the Parlement's refusal to register a number of oppressive financial edicts. In both cases the courts had the public on their side, whose sentiments were evidenced by the icy silence with which the king was received by the populace when he appeared in public. When Louis attempted to coerce the tribunals to submission, 143 members of the Parlement out of the existing 171 surrendered their dearly bought and lucrative positions, while the advocates shut their offices, and thus put a stop to all work in the inferior courts. The excitement was universal.

The hatred of the people toward the unworthy king decided a poor lunatic, Peter Damiens, to chastise the latter in such a way as would conduce to his reformation. In the night of January 5, 1757, as Louis was stepping into his carriage to proceed from Versailles to the Trianon, he inflicted a trifling wound on him with a penknife. Louis, with his usual despondency, gave himself up as lost, and so renewed all the lugubrious and hypocritical scenes of Metz.

There was a difference between the disposition of the people then and now. In 1744 all France streamed to the churches, and with tears and sighs supplicated Heaven for the recovery of the 'Well-Beloved.' Now, aside from the official world, all were indifferent and dumb, or vented their hate and scorn in insulting doggerel rhymes, pamphlets, and placards. The authorities proceeded against the unhappy lunatic with the most refined cruelty. Louis himself had hypocritically said: "I forgive him with my whole heart," but he did nothing to put a stop to the atrocities inflicted on him. The monarch was not the sole object of hatred in the great cities: the church had a not inconsiderable share of the odium. In Paris the clergy scarcely dared to appear on the streets from fear of being jeered at or outraged. In good society no one had the courage to speak a word in favor of religion. A deistic pamphlet, "The Morals," by the advocate Toussaint, was read with passionate avidity, and everywhere heartily accepted. The state authority intervened

with its usual means against this 'license.' In 1749 scholars, professors, and freethinkers were sent in dozens to the Bastille. But such violent measures had only the wonted effect of making all the world take the part of the 'martyrs' and of rendering the cry against 'this French Inquisition' more virulent and more general every day. Already by the middle of the century the word 'Revolution' was in the mouths of all. More and more pronounced became the antagonism between the monarchy and the reform movement, which every day gained in energy and determination, and affected ever wider circles. Even so moderate an innovator as Voltaire found no favor in the eyes of the French ruling classes. The decade between the two great wars — the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War — had made the outbreak of the great revolution inevitable.

While thus in France the chasm between the prevailing political conditions and the aspirations after innovation became from day to day wider, England — the model land of Voltaire and Montesquieu — enjoyed an assured and beneficent peace. Its constitution seemed, under the parliamentary rule of the Whigs, to have attained its ultimate development. The Pelhams conducted the government, if without brilliancy, yet without any further shock, and reconciled themselves with their old enemy, the Earl of Granville, who, by his constant carousals and banquetings, had bedimmed his formerly eminent qualities, and now accepted an inferior position in the ministry. The Lower House satisfied itself with the development of its prerogatives to the utmost. Otherwise it voted unhesitatingly for all the measures proposed by the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues. The session of 1752 was the most unanimous ever seen. Even the foolishly weak foreign policy of the cabinet found no opponents. Subsidies were paid to the electors of Saxony, Treves, Cologne, and the Palatinate to induce them to give their votes in the election of a king of Rome for the young Archduke Joseph. The Empress Maria Theresa was presented, in the time of profound peace, with a subsidy of 100,000 pounds. In how far these sums served the interest of England no man could tell. They had the ultimate consequence of strengthening the hands of Britain's enemies. The money was better spent that was applied to the purchase, in 1753, of several libraries and archives, and thus to the foundation of the British Museum.

In the midst of the profound peace at home and abroad, Eng-

land's manufactures and commerce developed with ever-growing prosperity. At this time some important branches of manufacture were liberated from the restrictions hitherto burdening them. While the yearly imports from the beginning to the middle of the century had advanced from five and one-half to eight and one-fifth million pounds sterling, the exports, during the same period, had mounted up from six and one-half to twelve and one-fourth millions, thus nearly doubling themselves. The English merchant marine had increased two and one-half fold, and now nearly entirely excluded the foreign. The traffic with the colonies especially increased vastly. Even more remarkable was the rapid development of Scotland, where Glasgow soon became one of the leading industrial and commercial marts in the world. The expansion of trade and manufacture reacted so as to give an effective impulse to agriculture. The primitive three-field system gave place, about the middle of the eighteenth century, to the more rational rotation of wheat, turnips, barley, and grass. The increased consumption of beef drew great attention to the breeding and feeding of cattle, which again reacted favorably on agriculture. The English landed proprietors devoted themselves to agriculture, in a more thorough way and with more mature experience than their brethren on the Continent, and this gave the very highest classes an inclination for country life. It was an advantage for Britain in this respect, that it was no longer the scene of devastating wars. In consequence of the profit of grain-growing, more land was constantly brought under cultivation. At the close of a nine years' costly war, there was in Britain such a surplus of capital that the younger Pelham—an exceptionally expert financier—accomplished with perfect ease the conversion of the national four-per-cent loan into a three-per-cent one, by which a yearly saving was effected of £577,000.

And yet the people were in no way contented. They felt that the much boasted 'British freedom' inured only to the benefit of a privileged minority,—the nobles and the higher class of merchants. They adduced, indeed, no clearly defined ground for complaint; but they felt themselves at a disadvantage, and uneasy, and wished a change. A want of capacity was shown among England's statesmen and generals, both of which classes expended Britain's strength without any countervailing benefit or fame. The policy of England seemed to be conducted mainly in the interest of the 'beggarly' electorate of Hanover.

The Hanoverian dynasty grew more unpopular. Frederick, Prince of Wales, was accused of weakness and fickleness ; his brother, George, Duke of Cumberland, was reproached for his severity and cruelty. In remembrance of the latter's barbarous treatment of the Jacobites, he got the nickname of the 'butcher.' When, in 1751, Frederick of Wales died, leaving only very young children, all looked forward with dread to the regency of the 'butcher.' Sympathy with the Stuarts again awakened, without, however, resulting in action. The University of Oxford was thoroughly Jacobite. In Scotland this sentiment pervaded the greater part of even the Lowlands, but the defeat at Culloden dampened the courage of the malecontents. The reckless Charles Edward, 'The Knight of St. George' as he was called, ventured, in September, 1750, to come disguised to London to discover whether there was any hope of a rising in the capital itself. But he returned, after a stay of fourteen days, undiscovered to the Continent.

As he was ordered to leave France, he spent the rest of his life in Italy, and especially in Rome, where he died in 1788, deserted by all the world. In England the general intellectual decadence seemed to take ever wider bounds. This period corresponds to that of the great development of the English brandy manufaeture, with its frightfully rapid increase in dram-drinking.<sup>1</sup> An effective counterpoise was nowhere to be found. No great religious or political movement stirred the hearts of the people.<sup>2</sup> The Church of England maintained its hold on its members more by its outward decency and its respectability than by its deep inward piety or its elevating moral influence. The ruling dynasty was borne with as a necessity ; but it inspired no enthusiasm of any kind, so public sentiment let self-seeking and sordid public characters proceed quietly in their own way. Newcastle continued Walpole's system of corruption unmodified. The most famous statesmen and writers were to be seen at the feet of a Mistress Howard, the favorite of the king. A Lord Chesterfield, and even the great William Pitt, sought to preserve their eminent places in the ministry by making diligent court to another of the royal mistresses, the Countess of Yarmouth.

<sup>1</sup> From 1684 to 1750 the consumption of brandy in Great Britain increased from 527,000 gallons to 11,000,000 gallons. Between 1735 and 1750 it more than doubled.

<sup>2</sup> Other authors attach more importance to the religious revival under the influence of the great preachers, John Wesley (1703-1791) and George Whitefield (1714-1770), which falls in this period. — ED.

This decay of public spirit was not without effect on the tone of 'good society' and literature. In the time of Queen Anne, the eminent author and distinguished scholar had been regarded as the peer of the foremost noble. Enlightenment, religious liberality, and interest in literary and philosophical problems, then pervaded the whole gentry. This society had called forth the highest admiration of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and many other Frenchmen. But a great change had taken place. While in France the higher classes had been converted to high esteem for literary merit, English society relapsed into arid realism, to coarseness of views and manners, and rude contempt for literature and its representatives. England, at that time, was appreciative only of the practically useful. The man of letters was looked on as a pedant and a sort of jester, paid by people of fashion to dispel their ennui. Walpole gave the signal for this hapless revolution of sentiment. Literature awakened in him not the slightest interest. The higher classes passed their time in scandalous earousals and gambling, varied by betting and the chase. Scarcely one statesman was free from vulgar vices, which shortened the lives of the most of them. Of all the productions of the press, journalism alone flourished. The age of the first two Georges is that in which the journalist became a power in England, and, along with the king and parliament, began to exercise a determinative influence. Already men were complaining that the press exercised more influence on the people than the opinions of the most prominent politicians: that the nonsense of any scribbler received more attention than an act of parliament; and that the public sought entertainment and instruction, not in books, but only in the daily papers. Parliament sought, indeed, to elude by all means the inconvenient control of the press, whose supervision must have been the more uncomfortable the less its members had regard to the wishes of their constituents, and the dictates of their own consciences, and the more they took account of ministerial bribes. Since the restoration of the Stuarts, reporting the debates of the Lower House was interdicted on pain of severe penalties. Even members who published their own speeches did not escape prosecution. The House of Commons — the real sovereign of the country — would be independent of public opinion. The House of Lords was no less rigorous against what it considered a gross breach of its privileges. Such publishers as wished to give their readers some idea of the debates tried to save themselves by characterizing them as "Discussions in the Senate of Great-Liliput"

or the “Political Club;” and the names of the speakers were concealed under Latin, or altogether fantastic, forms. But wherever parliament could punish them it did so most severely, without regard to their system of mummery.

As regarded literature proper, the reigns of the first two Georges saw the representatives of the age of Queen Anne gradually die out. Pope, indeed, lived till the year 1744, but, with the exception of his translation of Homer, produced no poetical work of merit. Significant of the entire change in the public sentiment was the fact that Pope, who, in his “Essay on Man,” had interwoven deism (so shortly before the ruling belief in England) ‘with flowers of speech,’ was now (1734) assailed on all sides on account of his religious unbelief.

The Scotchman, James Thomson (1700–1748), may be regarded as a disciple of Pope. In his renowned work, “The Seasons,” he imitated his master in his perfection of form as well as in the sober clearness of the contents. But he excelled him in a true love for, and appreciation of, nature, in the richness of coloring in his somewhat broad pictures, and in the sentimental trait so characteristic of the whole eighteenth century, which largely explains the great success of “The Seasons.” Thomson was a son of his period in a higher sense than Pope, who was wholly immersed in French classicism.

Sentimentality is developed to morbidity in the “Night Thoughts” of Edward Young (1681–1765). The author, moved by a succession of melancholy events following close on each other, depicts in this poem the world from the gloomiest point of view. Amid much of true feeling and of the deeply moving, there is no little of the overstrained and the affected in his manner; and in keeping with this obvious blemish, which is, indeed, largely that of the age, is the cumbrous turgidity of his style. The great merit of Young is, that in place of the precisely formal and artificial lyric of classicism he gives us once more the language of the heart and of true feeling. This poem stirred the contemporary public to its heart’s core, and did not a little to guide English poetry into the path of truth and nature; Young thus performed the same office in England that Klopstock and Lessing did in Germany.

The feeling of nationality inherent in Young’s elegiac pieces finds humorous expression in Gay’s “Beggars’ Opera.” Under the easily penetrated disguise of a Robber Captain, Gay satirizes Wal-

pole and his system of corruption in the most merciless yet comic manner, while in the members of his band it is not difficult to recognize the 'noble lords' and 'honorable gentlemen' that surrounded the great minister. The "*Beggars' Opera*" was a seething act of retaliation on the part of literature upon its contemner, Walpole, who at the time of its first representation (1728) was at the summit of his power. At the same time it constituted the protest of sound musical feeling against the unnaturalness of the Italian opera, which, with its artificial bravuras, then ruled English taste. This style the "*Beggars' Opera*" aimed at supplanting by the revival of the popular national melodies. How successful the attempt was is shown by the countless number of imitations which forthwith sprang into existence.

The same tendency to the popular and national, allied with the moral and optimistic aspirations of the era of 'enlightenment,' gave origin to the novel and drama of every-day life. In these the people saw their own lives pictured with all their excellences and defects. No longer did the characters breathe the artificial atmosphere of courts, or occupy the lofty pedestals of heroes and grandes; the lowly labors, the joys and sufferings, of the every-day citizen had attraction for their literary creators. Here the spirit of the eighteenth century speaks, in the most incisive and emphatic manner, against the aristocratic absolutism handed down from the seventeenth. The first impulse to this new style of fiction was given by the drama of the Londoner, George Lillo (1693-1739), "*The London Merchant, or the History of George Barnwell*." This attempt was in itself weak and insignificant enough. Nevertheless, the ordinary citizen felt himself moved by the representation of his own life and experiences; and the dismal tragedy had immense success, not only in England, but in France and Germany. Cumberland, who, however, properly belongs to the following epoch, sought to accommodate himself still better to the public taste by giving a compensating conclusion to the tragedy of every-day life, and thus converting it into a comedy.

Ten years after "*George Barnwell*," appeared the first moral and domestic novel of Samuel Richardson. The literary revolution that he inaugurated was much more important than that brought about by the drama of common life. The novel takes its date from the time of Richardson. What was attempted before him in this style of fiction was either the absurd extravagances of tales of

knights and chivalry, or the endlessly tiresome love-inanities of shepherds and shepherdesses, and chimerical princes and princesses. Richardson's merit is, that, in place of these figures of an insipid and bald imagination, he sets before us beings of flesh and blood, and that, in place of hollow declamation, he gives us an attempt at psychological delineation, as well as a dialogue natural and appropriate to the subject. The son of a carpenter, and himself a printer who raised himself, by his own industry, to competence, a loyal citizen, and of strict morality, Richardson (1689–1761) drew his material from the people he saw around him, whom he, in turn, sought to elevate and ennable. His novels, “*Pamela*,” “*Clarissa Harlowe*,” and “*Sir Charles Grandison*,” served both objects. Richardson is remarkable for his knowledge of character, especially that of women, whose feelings and sensibilities he comprehended and rendered with tender delicacy. He is also the first novelist who appreciated the accessories and extrinsic circumstances that exercise such a great influence on the feelings and conduct, depicting them, indeed, frequently at great length. But this lengthiness is, however, a trivial fault, compared with his punctilious and obtrusive morality, which he forces on our notice in all sorts of places. And, finally, his maudlin sentimentality is intolerable to the modern reader. But it should never be forgotten that, by acting as a stimulus to other leading authors, he laid the foundation of the modern novel.

The natural rival and antagonist of Richardson was Henry Fielding (1707–1754), a good-natured, easy-going man of pleasure, and a richly endowed specimen of that class known as ‘erratic geniuses.’ He openly parodies Richardson's sentimentality and moralizing,—which he designates simply as hypocrisy,—and is the first congenial panegyrist of the ‘Bohemian,’ or noble vagabond of literature. If his characterization is somewhat one-sided, he possesses in the highest degree the faculty of presenting the manners and humors of his time with perfect fidelity, and with a power and a charming naïveté to which Richardson could lay no claim. Fielding is a comic novelist of the first rank, and, for this reason, never descends to the mere burlesque. His best remembered works are “*Joseph Andrews*,” “*Jonathan Wild*,” “*Amelia*,” and the immortal “*Tom Jones*;” he wrote also miscellanies and poems, several plays, political pamphlets, and a “*Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*.”

The satirical vein in Fielding's writings is barely explained by

the fact that he did not, like Richardson, belong to the sound-hearted English citizen class, but to the aristocracy, whose dissoluteness had, through the example of the first two Georges, become developed to an extent rivalling that of the days of the second Charles. A speaking proof of this libertinism is supplied by the Letters of the eminent statesman, Lord Chesterfield, to his son—models of elegance in style, but of the most worm-eaten ethics. The inference that the sceptical, almost wanton, tone of several of the authors of the period is attributable to their aristocratic birth, appears to be corroborated by the fact that the second notable comico-satirical novelist of the period, Tobias Smollet (1721–1771), the author of “Roderick Random,” “Peregrine Pickle,” and “Humphrey Clinker,” was also of patrician origin and in close intercourse with aristocratic circles. His heroes, instead of being light-hearted and gay, are unpolished and ungainly; his situations and dialogues, instead of being comical, are merely farcical; the sentiments, instead of being finely satirical, vulgar and commonplace. But his talent for observation is no less striking than that of Fielding, as well as the fidelity and liveliness with which he depicts the conditions and customs of his time, as he had learned to know them in his varied experiences in Scotland, England, and the West Indies.

Common to all these writers, and, therefore, a historically significant feature, is their turn for the homely, the simple, and the naturally realistic. This most momentous revolution in political and social life found expression in France in Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, in England, in the creators of the drama and novel of everyday life.

The ‘enlightenment,’ in a religio-philosophical sense, found its representatives in Britain in the continuators of the deistic school, the professors of ‘rational religion,’ as it was then the fashion to call it. Here is to be first named Matthew Tindal (1657–1733). He strove to attain a well grounded and sure conviction, first going over to the Catholic Church, and then coming back to the Church of England to receive a position in its highly orthodox university of Oxford. Not till his advanced years did he find content in rational deism. In his “Christianity as Old as the Creation,” he sought, by means of subtleties of all kinds, to refer natural religion to Scripture and to evolve it from it. This he could only attain by characterizing many of the statements and dogmas of the New Testament as misconceptions and errors of the apostles. Mo-

rality he characterized as lying at the basis of all true religion. This highly pregnant idea, which dominated for a century the theologians of the 'Age of Enlightenment,' not in England only, but in all Protestant lands, was combated in numerous writings by Thomas Chubb, a simple artisan, who labored unweariedly in behalf of a religion emancipated from all dogma, and especially of a morality based on reason.

No metaphysical, but a purely practical end was the object of the Scottish school of philosophy, the head of which was the Glasgow professor, Hutcheson (1694-1747). He and his successors sought to prove that there is in man an intuitive moral sense, that all that is in accord with this can, and must, call forth an enduring and progressive condition of agreeable sensations, and that, consequently, virtue and philanthropy are identical with happiness.

This eudaemonic teaching — although it was not its original aim to make virtue the humble hand-maiden of pleasure — exercised the greatest influence on all the Protestant lands of Europe. In the same countries, too, the 'Age of Enlightenment' stood much more under the influence of English than of French views — a fact that has been too much lost sight of because a Frederick the Great and a Catharine H. coqueted with the elegant spirits of Paris, and because it was French, and not English, ideas that led up to a great enduring revolution.

Much less influence did a philosopher exercise on his own age, who, although of much deeper profundity and greater thoroughness than the Deists, was less in accord with the prevailing mode of thought and sentiment — David Hume.

Born in Edinburgh in 1711, Hume studied not only in Britain, but also in France, and thereby attained great independence and freedom from prejudice in considering any subject. But his philosophical labors proceeded but slowly compared with his political and historical work. For a time, indeed, he accepted the high position of an under secretary of state, dying in his native city in 1766.

As a philosopher, Hume originated an entirely new movement in the development of human thought. Like Locke, he based all our cognitions, directly or indirectly, on the perceptions of the senses; but in this connection he raises the question of what security we have that things are really as they seem to us, and that the medium through which we apprehend them is not colored. This scepticism is fully developed and established in his "An Enquiry

concerning Human Understanding," which appeared in 1748. It demolished, once for all, the dogmatic philosophy; and though it exercised little immediate influence, it paved the way for the further development of the train of thought by Kant, Fichte, and others.

We could not understand the intellectual currents of the eighteenth century in German lands if we left the English thinkers out of account, who had much more influence there than the French. In the domain of history both countries worked harmoniously together.

We have already acknowledged the services of Montesquieu in this latter field, although Voltaire's influence on historiography was still more decided. The historical sense in its higher acceptation — namely, the regarding of each great historical fact and phenomenon as a necessary consequence of the general process of human evolution — was, indeed, wanting in Voltaire; proofs of this are his complete disregard of the whole Middle Ages, and his indifference even to antiquity, as well as his anecdotal treatment of important historical episodes. But he was epoch-making in virtue of his recognition of the fact that historical writing is not concerned alone with great events and the action of states, but must also concern itself with the inner development of civil life and with the fate of the people. Thus Voltaire led the way for modern historiography.

Quite independently of Voltaire, Hume arrived at the same principles, carrying them out in his "History of England from Julius Caesar to the Fall of the House of Stuart" (1754-1761). In so doing he was the first in England to advance beyond the mere chronicle-like record of events, and to present the leading features of historical development. In this work, moreover, he has, with great originality, relegated to its unhistorical nothingness the whole doctrine of the 'social contract,' which, since the days of Grotius, had dominated the manner of regarding the whole historical-political field. In virtue of this, he was the founder of the great historical school of England.

Art, too, was a handmaiden to the popular tendency. The age of the first two Georges is the epoch in which the Londoner, William Hogarth (1697-1764), developed his brilliant talent for satirical representation. A painter Hogarth can scarcely be called, all his attempts at pictures in the grand style being melancholy fiascos.

But he was a depicter of wonderful naturalistic talent, of unparalleled power of characterization, a graphic delineator of manners (PLATE XXIII.), whose pencil knew how to fix and stigmatize the unbeautiful and vicious. But he possesses not merely a historical interest. Arrayed in the costume of the period, the passions and foibles ever inherent in human nature are rendered with a truth and fidelity as perfect as in the comedies of Molière. This higher quality insures the immortality of his creations.

In the sphere of painting proper, Reynolds and Gainsborough claim mention, although their most important productions belong to a later period.

It was long before the culture emanating from England and France took root in the Scandinavian north. King Christian VI. of Denmark (1730–1746) was a strenuous asserter, not only of absolutism, but also of unbounded pietism. He was hostile to the labors of even a Holberg, and put an end to his writing of dramas by declaring war upon the theatre. But that he was honest in his religious professions is shown not only by his "Memorabilia," but more indubitably by his deeds. He was careful that the hitherto neglected classes should find intellectual stimulation and moral culture in good books. He compelled the clergy to devote themselves zealously to the reformation of the people, especially by combating drunkenness. But the usual consequences of religious intolerance were bound to assert themselves,—a widespread hypocrisy and affectation of holiness; lust of power, arrogance, and a persecuting spirit on the part of the clergy; the repression of all public entertainments and amusements, even the most innocent, as well as of the free expression of opinion, whether in speech or writing.

Under Christian's son and successor, Frederick V. (1746–1766), the painfully repressed reform movement asserted itself victoriously. Frederick was, without possessing pre-eminent abilities, a moderate, well-meaning, conscientious man, who tried to follow the course of enlightened absolutism advocated by Voltaire and pursued by Frederick II. He abolished serfdom in all the royal demesnes, patronized every sort of material and intellectual industry among his people, founded academies and poor-houses, and lowered the taxes. He made a Hanoverian, Count Johann Hartwig von Bernstorff, his prime minister. The coarse temperament of the Danes Bernstorff tried to mollify by attracting German scholars and poets to the capital. In this way he brought Klopstock to Copenhagen, where he resided





Invented, Printed & Published by W. Hogarth

# Marriage à-la-mode

From William Hogarth's series

From a copper-plate engraving

History of All Nations, Vol. XIV, page 316.



a-Mode, (Plate I)

Engraved by G. Scotin

According to Act of Parliament April 8, 1745

pictures, "Marriage à la mode."

Louis Gérard Scotin (born 1690).



eleven years, as well as Johann Cramer, equally celebrated as a scholar, a preacher, and a poet. Under such influences Denmark began a career of culture. Frederick V. entered the more heartily into Bernstorff's views, as he was a son of the house of Oldenburg, and preferred to regard himself as a German prince. And besides the Hanoverian Bernstorff, he possessed in Adam Gottlob von Moltke, of Mecklenburg, a most trusted and efficient counsellor.

Under such excellent guidance the prospects for Denmark were cheering,—doubly cheering as compared with those of Sweden. The death of the childless King Frederick I. (1751) had resulted only in the weakening of the royal authority in this kingdom. When, in the person of Adolphus Frederick, the house of Holstein-Gottorp ascended the throne, that sovereign had to pledge himself not only to maintain the existing constitution, but also to obey every law decreed by the estates of the kingdom. Trial was soon made of his sincerity. In the Council of State the king had only two votes. Whoever was three times proposed to him by the senate for a state office without being appointed, was to receive the royal nomination for the next office open of the same kind. If a decree of the Council of State twice failed to find the prince's ratification, his autograph subscription could be superseded, in the third form of the decree, by a stamped impression of his signature. The weak and spiritless character of Adolphus Frederick encouraged the dominant faction of the nobles—the ‘Hats’—to more and more daring encroachments on his authority. In vain did his wife, Ulrike of Prussia, strive to stimulate him to act a more manly part. He rallied only so far as to declare, in 1755, that he would resign the crown if its dignity were to be further purposely violated. Thereupon a new plot was formed among the nobles themselves, especially among the unfairly treated party of the ‘Caps.’ to restore the power of the crown to its old dimensions. But the scheme went to pieces (1756) on account of the weakness and indecision of the king. Adolphus Frederick did not possess the needful strength and magnanimity to resist manfully the execution of his friends. The crown was deprived entirely of the right of installation to offices, which was transferred to the senate. The ‘age of freedom’ concerned only the nobles. The peasantry especially were kept in a state of base serfdom.

The epoch, however, was not unpropitious for literature, as is often to be observed when the system of government is aristocratic.

The dawn of a new era for Swedish letters was inaugurated by Olof von Dalin (1708–1763), a man who, immersed in the political movements, remained a loyal friend to his king. Responding to the English stimulus, he established a moral and literary periodical, “The Swedish Argus.” Thus Dalin acted as mediator between the west and the north. In every field of poetry he was successful. At the same time he laid, in his “History of the Swedish Kingdom” (1747), the foundation for a critical treatment of the history of his fatherland. But Sweden devoted herself especially to the study of the

natural sciences, of which by far the most illustrious cultivator was Carolus Linnaeus, or Karl von Linné (1707–1778). This indefatigable botanist of the university of Upsala not only redistributed and reordered the whole of animated nature according to an intelligible and carefully digested system, but, above all, he introduced a consistent and comprehensive terminology that has remained the standard to this day. In his special science, botany, Linnaeus has the additional merit of having drawn attention to the hitherto little appreciated importance of the sexual organs of plants, even though his own system based thereon is now re-

FIG. 52.—Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock.  
(After a copper-plate engraving by F. John, 1769–1843; original painting by A. Hickel, 1745–1798.)

garded as too artificial. Linnaeus and his followers, in and beyond Sweden, have greatly extended our knowledge of the various species of the fauna and flora, especially by expeditions, often difficult and occasionally dangerous, undertaken with this end.

In Germany the war was still raging in the literary field between Gottsched and the Swiss controversialists, during which there arose a formidable ally to the latter in Klopstock (Fig. 52), the regenerator of a truly national poetry.

In regard to the value of Klopstock's services to German literature, and especially to the development of the intellectual life of the



nation, it is impossible to exaggerate. The poet of the heart, with him the outer form of the verse is but the medium for the expression of a remarkable and powerful personality. Even in his youth Klopstock gave poetic utterance to the enthusiasm for the great German fatherland, excited in his and other youthful minds by the exploits of Frederick the Great in the Silesian wars. The impression made on the German heart and mind by the heroic deeds of this warrior opened up the prospect of an independent and national German literature in place of that derived from or inspired by other lands. Soon after entering the university of Jena, Klopstock prophesied that a new singer would arise to the German people who would reanimate the genius of the fatherland, and inspire derisive foreigners with respect and admiration for it. He soon believed himself destined for this great mission. In the beginning of 1748 there appeared from the pen of the student, scarcely twenty-four years of age, the first canto of "The Messiah," which was hailed by all Germany with great enthusiasm and profound emotion. The grandeur of the plan, the loftiness of the subject, the beauty and melody of the versification, and the masterliness with which the poet handled the inflexible form of the hexameter, justly attracted universal admiration, and led men to overlook the monotony and singularity of the subject, as well as its author's want of epic power. The quality that most repels modern readers of "The Messiah"—its tendency to maudlin sentimentality and mawkish sweetness of expression—was rather regarded as an excellence in the poet's days.

But it would be wrong to regard Klopstock only as the bard of "The Messiah." His main gift lay in lyric poetry. Here we have genuine feeling, nobly true sentiment, and great skill in versifying. He introduced two entirely new ideals into German poetry—Country and Freedom. Down to our own century he has been to the German people the embodiment of the ideas of freedom and fatherland. In this way Klopstock is the forerunner of the twofold tendency which in the first half of the nineteenth century determined the development of Germany and guided it, through a thousand obstacles and dangers, into the path leading to greatness. Even before Lessing, Klopstock was championing German nationality as against foreign influences, especially as against French. But his misfortune is, that he has been forgotten in comparison with his contemporary. In point of fact Klopstock contributed scarcely less than Lessing to the elimination of traces of Gallicism from German literature.

For the realization of the patriotic sentiments of a Klopstock, there was in his day no prospect whatever. He who should have been foremost in representing the unity of the empire—Emperor Francis I.—was a good-natured, simple prince of limited views and capacity, who, by the side of his strong-minded wife, realized his own comparative nothingness, and spent his leisure in commonplace occupations and in money-making. In 1755 his private estate was estimated at 20,000,000 florins. Besides, Francis busied himself in locksmiths' work, and in forming rich collections of minerals, coins, and medals. Of military capacity he was entirely devoid. Even in public and in company with his wife, he delighted in demeaning himself as a private man.

The want of monarchical power, due not only to the constitution of the empire, but quite as much to the personal character of the last emperors, might have been compensated in large measure by a worthy representation of the empire. But the diet which met in Ratisbon presented a more melancholy spectacle than ever before. Yard-long protocols and dozens of dissertations were issued in regard to the weighty problems of etiquette. Such world-shaking questions left the members time only for the discussion of pettifogging religious matters and the squabbles of confessions. It was principally Frederick of Prussia who attended to the interests of Protestantism. This he did—and with as much firmness as moderation—partly because, although personally indifferent to creeds, he felt himself most closely allied to Protestantism, partly because he aspired, for political reasons, to play, instead of Saxony, the rôle of protector of the evangelical body in the empire. Meanwhile the deistic opinions which at that time held sway in England became transplanted to Germany. Johann Christian Edelmann of Weissenfels (1698–1767) had fallen among the Herrenhuters (Moravians) and pietistic separatists, but had found so little satisfaction in their ways, that, in a number of writings, he attacked every form of religion, even the Bible itself, and, for the first time in Germany, proclaimed the doctrine that Jesus was a man like others, only distinguished by his high endowments and noble character as a benefactor of his brethren, and a preacher of the gospel of peace. For Edelmann, God was identical with reason, and the spirit of man a part of the divine reason. Such daring opinions brought their propounder into great peril; but although his writings were, in 1750, on command of the emperor, publicly burned by the hands of the

hangman, he himself found refuge in Berlin, where he closed his days in peace. Edelmann had only openly declared what the greater part of the young theologians believed in their hearts. They more and more felt themselves impelled to renounce the teaching of the recognized faiths, and to base all religion on observation and philosophy. Reason, the constancy of nature's laws, the design pervading all creation, were now, in place of the Bible, to be the evidence for the existence of God. Instead of tradition, the theologians now appealed to reason as the basis of religious belief, and made it the touchstone of all faiths. In the theological periodicals the works of the French, and especially of the English freethinkers, were published and eagerly canvassed. The partisans of the philosophy of Wolf accepted this tendency with great readiness. Even the champions of the generally received views consented to discuss the questions between them rationally, and so were driven to many concessions. Orthodox theologians, like Sigmund Baumgarten and his disciples, among whom the Göttingen orientalist, Michaelis, is the most renowned, submitted the Scriptures to a scientific criticism and exegesis, which, although the professed believers would not acknowledge it, shook their dogmatic authority, and brought them to the bar of scientific judgment. The rationalistic Berlin court-preachers, as well as the Abbot and Consistorial President Jerusalem, laboring in enlightened Brunswick, based their beliefs entirely on the writings of the English freethinkers, especially Shaftesbury's. For them revelation was only a divine aid to human reason: whatever in the Bible or tradition was not in harmony with reason was to be rejected as of human invention. The main mission of religion was, in their eyes, the elevation and promotion of morality. Finally, the truth of revelation itself was assailed, and nowhere more trenchantly than in the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments" of the Hamburg professor Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768), which remained unpublished till after his death. The conflict was clearly no longer between the different confessions, but between the church in any form and rationalism. With this the distinctions between the separate churches became more and more effaced and their mutual hostility mollified. A Protestant clergyman in Hildesheim, Gläsener by name, even undertook and zealously conducted the defence of the Catholic teaching against the accusations brought by several of his official brethren.

Such a state of peace between the different churches is more easily conceivable, inasmuch as the rationalistic tendencies were

making progress from year to year among the Catholic clergy themselves, laying hold of even the highest dignitaries. Indeed, the example was given from the highest place itself. Prospero Lambertini, who occupied St. Peter's chair under the name of Benedict XIV. from 1740 to 1758, was undeniably the most tolerant and mild-hearted occupant it ever had. Well-versed in civil law, not unacquainted with modern literature, skilled in dealing with ecclesiastical-historical questions, Benedict knew well how to distinguish between the essential principles of faith and morals and the adventitious accessories of provisional institutions and hierarchical claims, and thus was ready to make concessions to the spirit of the times in regard to the two latter points. Benedict proceeded with rigor against the miracle-workers and visionaries who sought to deceive the multitude; abolished the Inquisition, at least in Tuscany; restrained the commerce in indulgences, and enjoined the "Congregation of the Index" to greater circumspection when sitting in judgment on authors. Intellectual and unassuming, witty and humane, he sought to restore peace between the Vatican and the secular powers of the world. At their request he abolished a great part of the church holidays, so as to leave the people more time for labor. In the introduction to the letter relative to this, he lays down the principle, that while certain of the church ordinances can in no way be repealed, many others must be modified in deference to the circumstances of the times, always provided that nothing is done in contravention of Scripture and the decrees of the councils.

In the church dogmas also concessions were made to the claims of a very moderate rationalism. Already Muratori had, in his philosophical treatises, declared the adoration of saints, and especially of the Mother of God, a good and edifying, but by no means an obligatory, act of devotion, and not to be placed on a level with the ordained worship of the Saviour—a view of which Benedict XIV. later made himself the patron and promoter. In Germany it most peculiarly found acceptance with the same Archbishop Firmian of Salzburg (PLATE XXIV.) who, some years before, had driven the Protestants forth from his diocese, but who had now become the furtherer of reform views in regard to doctrine and the divine service. The too ardent defenders of the unconditional cult of Mary and the saints were, in his diocese, punished, and sent to the monasteries. And in these views Archbishop Firmian did not stand alone. Archbishop Trautson of Vienna, in his pastoral of 1752, made it a matter

PLATE XXIV.



Archbishop Firmian of Salzburg.

From an engraving by Christopher Mayrhofer.

*History of All Nations, Vol. XIV., page 522.*



of reproof that clergymen preached of the saints, but said nothing of Him who was above all saints.

With such sentiments the distinction between Protestantism and Catholicism lost much of its sharpness. Yet it may be mentioned, as a curious fact and an evidence of how close contrarieties lie to each other, that, at the same time when the rationalists and the highest circles of the Catholic church began to understand each other, the last German witch was burned in 1749, at Würzburg.

While the German Empire, as such, no longer exercised influence on the affairs of Europe, four of its states played an important rôle; namely, Hanover, Prussia, Saxony, and Austria. The first state has been already taken notice of in our observations on England; of the second, we will speak more specially hereafter. Meanwhile we turn our attention to the current of events in the two last named lands.

Electoral Saxony was at this time of considerable extent, its area being about 18,000 square miles. An industrious, closely-packed population inhabited its 210 cities and boroughs, its 61 market-towns, and nearly 5000 villages. Extensive demesnes, a fully developed tax system, mines that yielded yearly 40,000 marks of silver, brought into the coffers of the state an annual revenue of seven million thalers, as much as Frederick II. of Prussia in the beginning of his reign derived from his much greater, but also much poorer, land.

But very different were the uses that the Prussian king and the Saxon elector made of their identical incomes, more especially after the latter had become king of Poland. The Saxon revenues, instead of being devoted to strengthening the state, were squandered to satisfy the lust of the prince and his favorites for pompous display. Gold was lavished on diamonds, pictures, costly apparel, Italian singers, and the like, while the army and the fortresses were falling into decay. Augustus himself inherited the majestic exterior of his father, but no whit of his undeniable abilities. A good-natured, weak, indolent man, averse to earnest work of any kind, he was passionately addicted to the pleasures of the chase and the theatre. In his kingdom of Poland, where he could rely only on his Saxon guard of 1200 men, he possessed not the least influence. Russian rubles and dread of Siberia ruled in his stead. Even in Saxony, there was no longer a semblance of the personal rule of the prince, who left the administration of every matter to his favorites. At first Sulkow-

ski, a Pole, was all-powerful there. Gradually, however, a native noble wormed himself into his place—Heinrich von Brühl. Of seductive manners and supple, Brühl had before this won the favor of Augustus the Strong. Devoid of every political or administrative faculty, but adroit and unscrupulous, and subservient to all the whims of the ruler, he was able rapidly to climb the ladder of promotion. When the Pole had nothing more to offer him than his own situation, Brühl, who had gained the favor of the queen and her confessor, made use of Sulkowski's absence to eject him from his post, and to acquire the position, entirely new in Saxony, of prime minister. From that time he was all-powerful with the king, whom he relieved from all the cares of government, and provided with inexhaustible sums for the chase and the maintenance of a brilliant court. Augustus III. was really convinced that all was going on admirably in his land. Nevertheless, all the important offices were filled with the creatures of Brühl, not one of whom showed himself worthy of his office. Justice was dispensed agreeably to his nod, and often with crying iniquity. And all this power Brühl used only for his personal advantage. He drew a monthly salary of 65,000 thalers, and had himself presented by the king with vast estates in Saxony, lucrative salt-works in Poland, and large sums of gold on countless occasions. Through all this he was able to revel in incredible splendor. Such administration, although the taxable strength of the land was strained to the utmost, caused the complete derangement of the state finances. The funded debt alone, altogether irrespective of the floating, mounted up to 35,000,000 thalers. The Saxon army, that during the time of the Silesian war had numbered 60,000 men, was now reduced to 20,000.

The more unscrupulously Brühl plundered the state treasury, and trod the public interests under foot, the more he felt himself called on to play the part of a sanctimonious Pharisee. He took care to let himself often be come upon when on his knees in his private chapel, and with his own hand wrote a book with the edifying title of "The Sincere and Essential Godliness of all Christians." In this the scandalous scoundrel said: "Our whole welfare consists in its going ill with us in this world. The deceptive goods of this earth are only for such people as hope for no better, and seek for no more genuine ones."

In regard to external policy, Saxony, after its two powerful neighbors had fallen into a state of irreconcileable hostility, found



PLATE XXV.



Maria Theresa.

From a copper-plate engraving by Philipp Andreas Kilian (1714-1759) of the painting by Martin van Meytens (1695-1770).

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XIV, page 325.

itself in an extremely critical situation. Therefore the vacillating policy of Saxony is excusable, as it was for Savoy under the same circumstances. The difference between these two minor states was this,—and here begins the culpability of the Saxon rulers,—that the Savoy princees, despite the sparseness of their means, made their alliance of value and their hostility formidable in virtue of a strong and well-disciplined army, while the Saxon Wettins, from the second half of the seventeenth century, enfeebled their land by squandering its resources on selfish indulgences, and so made it the plaything of foreign powers. Brühl (Fig. 53) at first allied himself with Austria, then, after the battle of Mollwitz, with Prussia, to re-ally himself, in 1743, with Austria, to which he remained constant for twenty years to the immeasurable disadvantage of Saxony.

The Empress Maria Theresa (PLATE XXV.) at first busied herself with the organization of her lands, much distracted by the long and severe war. Her main object was to rescue them from their disintegrated feudal-mediaeval condition by conferring on them such unity of administration as to insure firmer consolidation and enhanced financial and military strength. In this cause she set about the limitation of the so-called rights of the diet, composed exclusively of feudal elements. The inconsiderable burgher element, formerly found in it as representatives of certain cities, had either been altogether eliminated, or compelled to take a quite subordinate position. At its sessions the lead was taken solely by the haughty and self-seeking nobility. But to the diet thus constituted Maria Theresa would not concede the right of co-regency. She made the various estates grant her 14,000,000 florins of direct taxes for ten years, instead of the 9,000,000 florins formerly voted yearly. In order to make this less burdensome to the poorer classes, she entirely abrogated the nobles' and clergy's prerogative of exemption from taxation, and caused a new and equitable scheme of land-taxes to be carried through. The estates were now—unwillingly enough—induced to agree to permanent taxes, and soon thereafter to the calling of no more diets.

Hand in hand with the restriction of the influence of the estates went the organization of a centralized official class. The officials appointed by the diet were everywhere dismissed, and replaced by imperial officers. In place of the old 'Conference,' there came a Council of State, ordered after the French form, which had to do



Henry Comte de Brühl  
Premier Ministre  
Roy de Pologne  
de Sa Majesté le  
Electeur de Saxe.

FIG. 53.—Count Brühl. From a copper-plate engraving, 1750, by Jean Jacques Balechou (1715-1764); original painting by Louis de Silvestre (1675-1760).

with all the internal affairs of the empire, and to which the empress looked for the “weal of her hereditary lands and the satisfaction of her will and conscience.” The former isolated condition of the different lands disappeared; and they found in the ‘*Directoriū in publicis et camerālibus*’ a common supreme administrative authority, and in the supreme court of justice (*oberst Justizstelle*) a common highest judicial authority. A governor, with his council, was appointed over every province, each of which was divided into circles (*Kreise*), administered over by lieutenant-governors (*Kreishauptmänner*). In this way the power of the landed nobility was materially restricted, and a bureaucracy created, whose working was, in any case, to be preferred to that of the former cumbrous and inefficient machinery. The lieutenant-governors, mostly belonging to the citizen class, took up with zeal the defence of the dependent lower classes. Of still greater importance was it for the empress that the new institutions constituted, for the first time in Austria, an effective administration, thus placing at her disposal resources indispensable for a modern state. For the internal administration of the empire, as well as for its influence on external affairs, Maria Theresa inaugurated, through these reforms, a new era for the Austrian monarchy.

The empress-queen was no less careful about the promotion of the welfare of her subjects,—the main source of her power. She established a special ‘*Directory of Commerce*.’ By attracting Silesian craftsmen she sought to transfer the linen, woollen, and silk manufactures, as much as possible, from her lost province to Bohemia and Moravia. A series of high protective (from thirty per cent upwards) and prohibition measures were enacted to promote the rising manufactures of Austria. Against Prussia especially a formal tariff war was waged, which increased the animosity already existing between the countries. Owing to the absence of a spirit of enterprise, as well as of private capital, the state had to undertake the conduct of a number of new industries, to provide a market for their products, and to act as a banker, and supply advances to private employers of labor. In this way the foundation was laid for the industrial and commercial independence of Austria.

The queen had her army especially at heart. The army that was to reconquer Silesia for her was, in the German and Slavic provinces alone, brought up to 108,000 men, organized after the Prussian pattern, and carefully drilled. Maria Theresa herself often took part in the reviews, and was much beloved by the troops. A mili-

tary academy and a school for engineers were looked to for the training of an efficient corps of officers.

But this government had also its darker side. For a thorough reformer of her empire, Maria Theresa was in no way designed by nature; for this she was too tenaciously conservative. Under her a development of literature was wholly impossible. Censure was exercised against the sins of freethinking with a rigor scarcely known in the States of the Church. Newspapers or printed journals were only barely tolerated. The empress's chief adviser in scientific and literary matters was the Dutch physician, Gerhard van Swieten (Fig. 54), whom she appointed her chief medical attendant, and in whose ability, learning, scientific acquirements, and piety she had implicit confidence. Van Swieten was by no means a man of original genius, but limited his efforts as a statesman to combating hierarchical independence, and to placing education and the censorial supervision of the press under the control of the state. He succeeded in both objects. The university of Vienna as well as the censorship of books was wrested from the Jesuits: but, in compensation, both institutions were placed under the most rigorous bureaucratic supervision, and administered with a strictness that checked alike the growth of science and *belles-lettres*. Medicine alone flourished under Swieten's patronage. On the other hand, Lessing and Mendelssohn, Wieland and Fielding, Ariosto and Voltaire, were absolutely interdicted in Austria.

Maria Theresa's intolerance to all non-Catholics was beyond measure. In the year 1744 she ordered the Jews to be driven forth from Prague and all Bohemia. Not till four years later did she let herself be prevailed on, by the earnest protests of the Bohemian-Moravian Diet, to recall the mandate, already executed, so far as Prague was concerned. In the rest of Bohemia the judicious procrastination of the authorities had rendered it inoperative. But much more than the Jews did she abhor the Protestants, hating them especially for their proselytizing tendencies. She persecuted them with such unrelenting harshness that many became insane, and many of the towns formerly inhabited by them became altogether deserted. Not only were Protestants interdicted from all exercise of their religion, but in every province there were appointed 'religious commissions,' which set themselves, with inquisitorial zeal, to discover whether any of the pursued sect had settled in the places forbidden them, or whether any Catholics had become 'perverts' to Lutheran-

ism. Any who had done so were stripped of their property, and carried to the Saxon districts of Transylvania, where they mostly sank

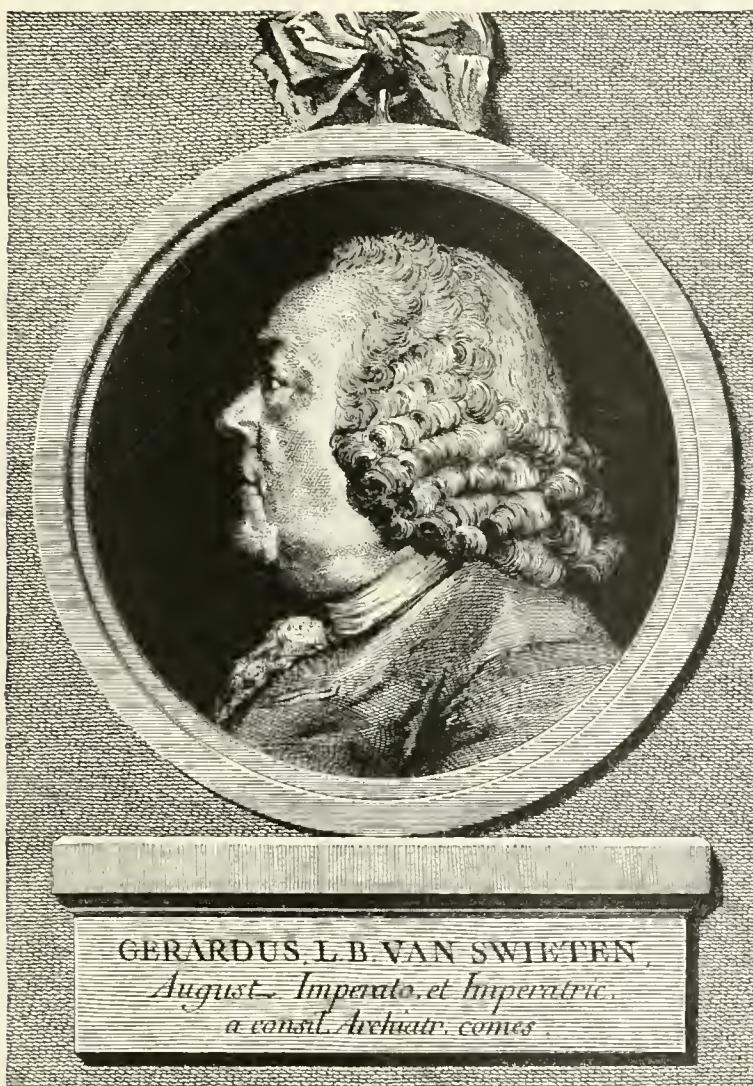


FIG. 54. — Gerhard van Swieten. (From a copper-plate engraving by A. Bruneau; original drawing by Aug. de St. Aubin, 1736-1807.)

into a state of the most abject misery, and disappeared. Their children were torn from them, and given over to be educated in the Catholic faith, the government paying for the care of each of the

little wretches the sum of four kreutzers daily. Persons who ventured to disseminate Protestant opinions were condemned to forced labor, and robbed of their property. Whosoever could, fled to Prussian territory. 'Toleration' was the word hated above all others by the empress of Austria.

The constantly increasing burden of taxation gave rise to general discontent, especially as the empress was by no means economical in dealing with the revenue, which shortly before the Seven Years' War had mounted up to 40,000,000 florins. On her court alone she expended 6,000,000 florins. It was in accord with her disposition to absolutism that she deprived the cities of the last shred of their independence. Her endeavors, on the other hand, to raise Trieste in Austria, and Fiume in Hungary, to flourishing seaports proved resultless. Her bigoted aversion to learning and science was avenged by the degraded condition into which her people sank, morally and intellectually. For the common schools nothing whatever was done, so that the masses remained in an incredibly uncultured state. The middle schools and gymnasia were in the hands of the spiritual orders; the universities, in those of the Jesuits. Of the great intellectual and spiritual revolution accomplished in the rest of Germany, not a vestige was to be discovered in Austria. The difference existing between the Austro-Bavarians and other Germans was most disastrous for the imperial state itself.

Maria Theresa did not know how to awaken the physical and spiritual powers slumbering in her people. But, thanks to her labor, Austria in the middle of the fifties was better united, and could cast a much greater weight into the scale, than in any previous decade. And this was all the more important for the whole of Europe, inasmuch as Maria Theresa persevered in her purpose of avenging herself on the king of Prussia, and, above all, of wresting from him the fair province of Silesia.

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